

Images of Ancient Greek Pederasty
Boys were their Gods



ANDREW LEAR and EVA CANTARELLA

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Greek pederasty, or *paiderastia* —the social custom of erotic relations between adult men and adolescent boys—was a central characteristic of Greek culture. Both Greeks and non-Greeks saw it, along with the gymnasium with its intimate connection to pederasty, as markers of Greek identity. It is an important theme in Greek literature, from poetry to comedy to philosophy, and in Greek art as well. In Athenian vase-painting—in particular the painted scenes that decorate clay drinking vessels produced in Athens between the sixth and the fourth centuries BC—pederasty is a major theme: indeed, pederastic courtship is one of the mortal activities most commonly depicted.

This lavishly illustrated book brings together, for the first time, all of the different ways in which vase-painting portrays or refers to pederasty, from scenes of courtship, foreplay, and sex, to scenes of Zeus with his boy-love Ganymede, to painted inscriptions praising the beauty of boys. The book shows how painters used the language of vase-painting—what we call "iconography"—to cast pederasty in an idealizing light, portraying it as part of a world in which beautiful elite males display praiseworthy attitudes, such as moderation, and engage in approved activities, such as hunting, athletics, and the symposium. The book also incorporates a comprehensive catalogue of relevant vase-paintings, compiled by noted archaeologist Keith DeVries. It is the most comprehensive treatment available of an institution that has few modern parallels.

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When they asked the poet Anacreon why he wrote hymns to
boys instead of the gods, he replied "because boys are our
gods."

(Footnote to an ancient edition of Pindar's second Isthmian
Ode

(iii 213 Drachmann)

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PREFACE

Why this book?

Andrew Lear and Eva Cantarella

The ancient Greeks, as is widely known, had a custom which they called *paiderastia*, or pederasty, consisting of erotic relations between adult men and adolescent boys. The limits on this practice—how widespread it was in terms of geography and social class, precisely what was approved and what disapproved, when and how it began to be practiced, when and why it stopped—are the subjects of much debate among modern scholars. However, the basic fact remains: it was practiced on a more widespread basis and with greater public approval than any other form of homosexual relations at any time in any Western culture.

This practice is a major theme in the remains of Greek literature—principally, although not exclusively, in poetry, comedy, philosophy, and courtroom speeches. It is also important in the visual arts: one of the most plentiful sources of information on the topic is the paintings that decorated the clay drinking vessels produced by the highly sophisticated pot industry of Athens in the sixth to the fourth centuries BC.

This book provides an overview of the portrayal of pederasty on those pots. By comparing the paintings on them both with each other and with the literary and historical sources of evidence, it attempts to clarify what they show us (or imply) about the actual practice of pederasty and the ideals connected with it.

The subject is not an altogether new one. The importance of pederastic scenes in vase-painting was widely acknowledged among the great German nineteenth-century Classicists,¹ and already in 1947, Sir John Beazley published a typology of these scenes in his tactfully titled *Some Attic Vases in the Cyprus Museum*. Beazley made it clear, perhaps for the first time in English, that pederasty was a common subject of vase-painting: one might say that he irrevocably "outed" Greek vases in the

Anglo-Saxon world. The list that he presented was, however, limited to scenes of courtship and consummation (see chapters 1–3), which he classified into three scene-types. He did not include in this work other common ways of representing pederasty, such as scenes of the god Zeus and his boy-love Ganymede, or pederastic scenes in which the god Eros appears (see chapter 4), nor did he include the topic of so-called *kalos*-inscriptions, inscriptions that proclaim a boy, named or unnamed, as beautiful (see vases 1.5, 1.17, 2.12, 3.12, 4.16, 5.1–4, 7.1, 7.3, 7.6). In more recent years, there has been much scholarship on each of these other topics and on several less common iconographies as well. Also, Kenneth Dover, in his epochal *Greek Homosexuality* of 1978, included over 100 vase scenes to illustrate his points, principally about sexual activities and the types of bodies considered attractive. However, there has never been a book that brought together all of the different ways of portraying pederasty and considered what they, as a body, tell us about the practice.

The authors decided several years ago that such a book would be useful for contemporary discussion of ancient sexuality. Vase evidence is held to support many theories on this topic, but readers who are interested in considering this evidence on their own would need to do an enormous amount of research—with much of the bibliography unavailable in English—in order to get even a basic understanding.

This preface will be followed by an introduction in two sections. The first will concern the custom of pederasty, as it is seen in literary and historical sources of evidence; the second itself will consist of two parts: the first will provide a brief explanation of the concept "iconography," around which much of this book revolves, and the second will provide an illustrated discussion of the basic elements of the iconography of pederastic scenes.

This will be followed by seven chapters on different aspects of pederastic scenes in vase-painting. The first and third are about the painters' ways of representing different phases in a pederastic relationship, courtship, and consummation. Chapter 2 instead is about the ideological implications of courtship scenes, which make strong connections between pederasty and pedagogy, or rather—to be more precise—portray the adult lover as a role model and source of encouragement for the elite boy's participation in such approved activities as athletics, the hunt, and the symposium. The discussion of the ideological

implication of consummation scenes, that is, the strong contrast between the markedly moderate forms of consummation shown in pederastic scenes and the undignified sex shown in other erotic iconographies, such as Satyr scenes and orgy scenes, is included in chapter 3. Chapter 4 continues this discussion by highlighting the contrast between the iconographies of mortal pederasty, in which courtship always plays a central role, and those of divine pederasty—principally scenes of Zeus and Ganymede and scenes in which the god Eros appears—in which violence plays an important role. Chapter 5 does not concern a figural aspect of pederastic scenes; instead, it is about the *kalos*-inscriptions that appear, in pederastic and non-pederastic scenes, praising the beauty of boys and thus emphasizing, in contrast with the elements discussed in chapter 2, the importance of the aesthetic and erotic aspects of pederastic relations. Chapter 6 concerns issues connected to the dating of vases: the importance of pederastic scenes for the dating of vases, and Greek art in general, and the presence of pederastic scenes in periods later than those in which they have previously been recognized. Chapter 7 is about fragments. As is typical of the remains of Classical antiquity, much of our evidence for pederasty is in fragments; by the time the reader has finished our book, we hope that s/he will be able to look at the sherds that fill museum drawers and archaeological sites and see the fascinating bits of information about the custom of pederasty that such tatters contain.

These seven chapters, rather than following a logic suggested by literary or historical sources, attempt to answer the salient questions raised by the scenes themselves, and their organization derives in part from the authors' desire to display to the public some part of the archive of pederastic scenes which we have gathered over the years. As our own research, along with that of others, has shown, there are considerably more vases with pederastic scenes than earlier authorities believed. The authors have information about nearly a thousand pederastic vase-paintings, more than three times as many as have been illustrated in books on the topic up to now—as well as countless *kalos*-inscriptions.²

These scenes are also considerably more varied than is generally believed. For although there are indeed several common scene-types in pederastic vase-painting, the elements of the scenes are highly variable, derive from a number of

different iconographies and have, in their various combinations, many different implications.

We have chosen 111 vases (and one statue) to illustrate. Aesthetic considerations played some role in our choices, but our principal goal was to show how pederastic scenes express their meanings. To this end, we have included especially clear examples of all the common scene-types and especially clear illustrations of their elements. We have also included a range of variations on each scene-type: in particular, we include paintings in which the elements of different scene-types appear in combination and which thereby expand our sense of the implications of the iconographies involved. Further, we have included examples of several less common scene-types and also exceptional scenes that seem to make the implications of the common iconographies clearer—or to raise questions about them. Finally, we have included vases that illustrate clearly certain of the iconographical concepts we use in our interpretations or that show interesting convergences with or divergences from the other ancient sources of evidence.

It is to this last subject—perhaps the underlying point of our entire study—that we turn in our concluding remarks: here the two authors, writing again (as we do here) in unison, discuss what the study of pederastic scenes adds to our understanding of the custom. This is followed by an appendix in which we present, in abbreviated form, a list of 647 pederastic scenes, compiled by the late Professor Keith DeVries, which Professor DeVries, in a gesture typical of his remarkable generosity and spirit of intellectual cooperation, turned over to us for our use in the spring of 2006, shortly before his much-lamented demise.

INTRODUCTION

SECTION 1 TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

Eva Cantarella

We begin with the texts. We begin, that is to say, with the kind of evidence upon which most efforts to understand pederasty have hitherto been largely based.¹ These texts differ greatly, belonging to many different literary genres, from epic poetry to lyric poetry, from history to philosophy, from courtroom oratory to comedy ... and they come from historical epochs that are widely separated from one another, often by centuries. Even so, they present, as a whole, a largely coherent picture of the pederastic relationship, which we will attempt to synthesize in this chapter.

Before going on, however, it is necessary to point out that this book will focus on the city of Athens, as have most previous studies on this topic. We do not do this because pederasty was an exclusively Athenian custom; although the non-Athenian evidence is scantier, there is certainly enough to show that the custom was by no means limited to this one city. The laws governing the gymnasium in Berea (on which see below), for instance, show that this type of love was sufficiently widespread to require protective regulation in various parts of Greece; outside of Athens, however, the references are too few to allow us to properly judge the diffusion of the custom, and more importantly its social and cultural value.

Athenian sources, on the other hand, offer the historian of sex and sexuality an astonishingly rich body of evidence on the custom of pederasty, in terms both of quantity and quality. Not only did the Athenians—as we will make clear below—portray this custom on their drinking-ware, they talked about it when writing poems, discussing philosophy, telling stories from history or myth, and debating law cases of the most disparate kinds. In this introduction, we will consider these non-visual sources, from which we will attempt to derive the general characteristics of the pederastic relationship.

As is well known, to define it simply as a "homosexual relationship" (as was customary in the past) would be to falsify reality, attributing to the Greeks a concept which did not exist in their world. Today, it is generally accepted among scholars that an adult man in ancient Greece could, with little or no risk of social disapproval, express sexual desire for another

male, so long as the desired male was an adolescent (*pais*), whom the adult loved within the context of the socially codified and positively valued relationship which we call pederastic. This kind of relationship took place, then, between an "active" adult and a "passive" boy, though by "activity" and "passivity"—this is an important aspect of the question—the Greeks understood not necessarily and not only sexual roles, but also and above all intellectual and moral roles.

The couple composed of two individuals of the male sex, in other words, was socially and culturally accepted if it was "asymmetrical"; but not in the sense, often wrongly understood, of a couple in which only one person (the adult) experienced desire and sexual pleasure and the other (the boy) was merely the object of it. From this point of view, we believe that in the pederastic relationship there was at least potentially a greater degree of reciprocity than our ancient texts admit or than most modern scholars believe.

The "asymmetry" consisted of other inequalities within the relationship. The first and most decisive of these (from which the term "pederasty" derives) was the difference in age between the adult "lover," called the *erastes*, and the adolescent "beloved," called the *eromenos*.² This difference brought with it another important element of asymmetry: the adult transmitted to the boy, who obviously did not already have it, his experience in every field, assuming in their encounters a formative role at the moment in which the boy—a potential citizen—prepared himself to become an actual citizen, able to exercise his civil and political duties. The *erastes* taught, the *eromenos* learned. As has been said, the *paideia* (education) of the Athenian boy was entrusted to his relationship with the *erastes*.³

These were the conditions which rendered socially acceptable, in Greece (more specifically, although not only, in Athens) a type of relationship which today—with terms and concepts which, as we have already said, were unknown to the Greeks—we would describe as homosexual. Far from being an expression of sexual freedom, the pederastic couple was accepted only when it respected a social code which, from the texts, can be delineated in a way that is quite clear in its major outlines, and which we will seek to trace.

The age of the *erastes*

The *erastes* , we have said, had to be an adult. But at what age could a male begin to be an *erastes* , and up to when was it permitted to have this role?

We begin with the fact that at Athens a man reached adulthood at the age of eighteen, at which point he was inducted into civic service, as an *ephebe* (something like a cadet), for two years. It seems safe to assume, therefore, that it was not appropriate to be an *erastes* before the age of twenty. But it also seems possible to say that it was considered preferable, before assuming a role so important in the formation of a youth, that the new citizen should consolidate, thanks to his experience in the adult world, the qualities necessary to properly carry out the duties connected with his sexual role (Cantarella 2002a.36–41).

Although its source is a city other than Athens, and it comes from the second century bc,⁴ a period later than that on which we focus in this book, a law engraved on a stele discovered in the city of Berea, in Macedonia, tells us that certain categories of people were forbidden to frequent the local gymnasium: slaves, freedmen, freedmen's sons, *apalaistroi* (those who could not exercise in the gymnasium, perhaps due to weakness or physical infirmity), *hetaireukotes* (prostitutes), those who were engaged in commercial activity, drunkards, and the insane. And finally, the *neaniskoi* (young men who were about to reach adulthood or had reached it within the past few years) were forbidden from speaking with boys inside the gymnasium (Cantarella 2002a.28–33). Evidently, therefore, at Berea, the authorities sought to prevent boys at the gymnasium from having conversations with persons considered unfit to be *erastai* , and also with people who, while not being unfit, were not yet mature enough to perform the pedagogical duties of an *erastes* .

So much for the minimum age for an *erastes* . But what—if it existed—was the maximum age, the age above which the role of *erastes* was unbecoming? According to some, the Athenian man customarily had an *eromenos* only until the time when he took a wife.⁵ The sources, however, appear to contradict this hypothesis.

Socrates, for example, did not cease to court beautiful boys following his marriage to Xanthippe. Sophocles, though married to Nikarete (by whom he had a son named Iophon, also a

tragic poet), loved beautiful boys all his life. In a story told by his contemporary, the poet Ion of Chios (Athenaeus 603f–604d), when Sophocles was appointed to be a general, in 441, he went to Chios, where he participated in a banquet. He was already fifty-five years old, but his age did not prevent him from promptly beginning to court a very beautiful boy who was pouring wine for the dinner companions. "Do you want me to drink the wine with pleasure?" Sophocles asked him. The boy said yes, and Sophocles asked him to bring the cup slowly to his lips and slowly take it away. The boy blushed, and Sophocles, after citing a verse of Phrynichus ("the light of love shines on his crimson cheeks"), asked the boy to blow on the cup, to push away a speck floating in the wine; and while the boy did as he was told, Sophocles kissed him.

Nor did Sophocles' habits change even when he reached an advanced age: when he was already fifty-five years old, he led a beautiful boy outside the walls of Athens and there, sheltered from prying eyes, he invited him to bundle up with him in his cloak, which he had spread on the ground. But at the end of the encounter, the boy fled, robbing him of his cloak (Athenaeus 604d).

We could offer many more examples but will limit ourselves to two other cases. Aeschines, in his oration *Against Timarchus* (1.135–136), which he wrote at the age of forty-two—an advanced age for Classical antiquity—said that he still had *eromenoi* and the unnamed client for whom Lysias wrote the speech *Against Simon* (Lysias 3), who had already reached middle age, spoke explicitly of his love for the young Theodotus while expressing only the slightest concern about his age (Lysias 3.4).

If an age limit existed, it seems clear that it was not tied either to assuming the role of a husband or to reaching a specific, defined age. The limits presumably varied from case to case, and depended partly upon the individual's physical condition and above all on his social and economic status. Those who surpassed the limits may have the kinds of problems that Sophocles had outside the walls of Athens, or be objects of laughter, more or less good-willed. There were, however, no absolute social or legal limits on the maximum age of the *erastes*. Indeed, in contrast to the situation in Rome, at least in the Imperial period, in Greece laws regarding sexual relations between men, and in particular pederastic ones, were very rare.

The age of the *eromenos*

The *eromenos*, we have already seen, was a *pais*, a boy. What age was meant by this term, in this specific context? When did one begin to be a "boy," and when did one cease to be one? Did minimum and maximum ages exist for the *eromenos*?

The most precise indications on the lower limits for age come from the poetry collected in the *Palatine Anthology*, written well after the period this book covers. In the absence of other sources, however (while recognizing that this information must be treated with great caution), we must consider these sources. The most explicit poet on this point is Strato of Sardis, in *P.A.* 12.4. The correct age is from twelve to seventeen:

I delight in the bloom of a twelve-year-old boy, but the boy of thirteen

Is far more desirable still;

The fourteen-year old is a sweeter flower of Eros,

But the one who is starting his fifteenth year is more delightful;

The sixteenth year belongs to the gods; it is not for me

To seek the seventeenth: it belongs to Zeus.

But if a man has a desire for older boys than these, he is no longer playing:

Instead he is looking for one who can "answer him back." ⁷

Moreover, if a twelve-year-old sought to provoke him, Strato (*P.A.* 12.205) implies that he would refuse his advances:

A wholly tender boy—the neighbor's—turns me on

Not a little. He giggles like one who is knowing and willing,

But he isn't more than twelve. The unripe grapes

Are unguarded now. When he's ripe, there will be watchmen and fences.

To take advantage of the inexperience of a child, says the poet (*P.A.* 12.228.1–2), is an infamous thing for an adult to do:

If an immature boy makes an error before he has reason,

It brings a greater disgrace to the friend who persuades him ...

From reading Strato, one would say that the kind of sanction that falls upon an adult who loves a boy less than thirteen years old would be of the social type. Some, however, have thought that these relationships were forbidden and punished by law: Cohen (1991.179–180), in particular, has argued, albeit very cautiously, that a relationship with a boy under thirteen could be punished as statutory rape.

The ancient texts do not, however, preserve any trace of a law of this kind. The only directive on the subject of sexual violence is a law cited at Lysias 1.32 (*On the Murder of Eratosthenes*), though some would also adduce a law cited at Aeschines 1.16 (*Against Timarchus*). In reality, however, the law cited by Aeschines has nothing to do with rape. Aeschines states that "if an Athenian commits *hybris* with a free boy, the *kyrios* of the boy must enter an action before the *thesmothetai* requesting a punishment."⁸ But the punishable behavior is defined as *hybris*, and the term *hybris*, in techno-juridical language, while it can include sexual violence, does not only indicate that (Cantarella 2001). The law mentioned in Lysias (1.32), on the other hand, does in fact refer to sexual violence: it asserts that "if someone commits violence against a free man or a boy or one of the women in defense of whom it is legal to kill a lover, he will be condemned to double damages." Nonetheless, though it speaks of possible sexual violence in relations with a boy, this law does not contain any reference to an established minimum age, and does not provide even minimal support for a hypothesis about statutory rape. To conclude on this point: the minimum age is around twelve or thirteen years of age, but the sanction that applies to those who don't respect that are entirely social.

There remains the problem of the maximum age: at what age did it become inappropriate to continue to be a "beloved?" Strato indicates a precise age: seventeen. But he was not referring to a legally established age; he was referring to the age at which the boy ceased to be desirable because he lost his attractions. At seventeen, more or less, his body assumed the characteristics of an adult male, the most obvious of which was the hair that grew on his face, his thighs, and his chest. At this point, no one would court him any more: he had ceased to be a *pais kalos* (beautiful boy).

The theme often recurs, in the Anthology, as a warning to

boys who obstinately refused the advances of their *erastai*. An anonymous poet writes the following, for instance, about Nicander (*A.P.* 12.39):

Nicander's light has gone out, all the bloom has departed

From his complexion; not even the name of the graces is left to him—

Him whom we used to count as one of the gods. Never think

You are higher than mortals, boys: body hair comes ...

Meleager repeats the same threat to Polixenides (12.33), as does Strato to Menippus (12.176), and Asclepiades to a boy whose name he doesn't mention, although he is already undesirable, for the same reason (12.36).

Whether this rule (like all the rules presented here) was respected is another problem. It indicates, nevertheless, what the ideal model was for a pederastic relationship: a relationship of complex definition, which, based on the sources provided so far, seems to have been problematic (or "problematized," as Foucault called it),⁹ for the individuals involved and society at large—and for this reason, perhaps, the subject of much debate in modern scholarship. In the following section, we shall consider the principal issues in this debate, beginning with the question of the custom's origins.

The problem of pederasty's origins

According to a majority of scholars, the pedagogical function which pederasty carried out in the Archaic period and (if in a less evident or powerful way) in the Classical period as well, can be explained in the light of the custom's origins. In other words, the custom's origins does not coincide with the birth of the *polis* but must be sought in a prior epoch; for some, indeed, it must be sought elsewhere as well.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, a celebrated article appeared by the scholar Erich Bethe; if unintentionally, it showed the academy a way to avoid the embarrassment caused by the presence, in Greek sources, of too many undeniable references to sexual relationships between men. Pederasty, Bethe wrote (1907), was not a Greek custom; it was imported by the Dorians, at the moment that became defined as this northern population's "invasion" of Greek territory. Thanks to the Dorians, the Greeks and their mythified and

superior civilization could be purged of the regrettable defect. Around the middle of the twentieth century, however, another hypothesis became more popular. In 1950, Henri Marrou argued that pederasty was a relic of the so-called feudal Middle Ages, that is to say, the Homeric age; it was military in nature and consisted of a comradeship of warriors, joined together in a masculine environment which, due to the absence of women, tended to become a closed all-male system, with the sexual consequences that follow from that.

The question remains of interest. Whether or not Marrou's hypothesis of military origins is sound—and, in this writer's judgment, it is not convincing, for reasons we shall soon come to—Marrou was correct in saying that pederasty had no particular connection with the Dorians (see Dover 1989.185–196).

Nonetheless, the question that Marrou asked—and which is far from being clearly resolved—is "why?" For Marrou, the love of boys was linked to the absence of women. And at a distance of a half-century, if on different grounds and in a different way, there are still those who believe in this connection. David Cohen (1991.186), for example, explains pederasty starting from the concept of the inaccessibility of respectable women in Classical Athens. Other women were available for sex, but an Athenian man—who spent much of his life in all-male settings, such as the assembly, the gymnasium, the symposium (where again, respectable women were absent)—had no access to women whom he needed to court. According to Cohen, courtship is an unusual social practice, in that it is linked to a fundamental human need, the need to court and be accepted; and since in Athens the only woman that one courts—respectable ones—were not accessible, this need was, as it were, "deviated" toward (and satisfied by) the courtship of boys.

But the hypothesis of a substitutional pederasty is not supported by the sources, even in its latest, most sophisticated version.

In the first place, in fact, women, at least in Athens, became inaccessible (and, therefore, not courtable) only after the law of Draco, which in 621–620 set extremely strict rules for respectable women.¹⁰ In earlier times and other places rules were more fluid, and women's lives more free. This appears clearly in the Homeric poems, and in particular the *Odyssey*

(Blundell 1995.74–77); as is well known, women were also less segregated in Sparta than in Athens. And pederasty certainly existed in these earlier times and other places.

The antiquity of pederasty emerges, firstly, from the evidence of many myths in which pederastic couples appear, such as Zeus and Ganymede, Poseidon and Pelops, Apollo and Hyacinth.¹¹ These myths, furthermore, may point further into history, toward the origin and original function of pederasty. Indeed, according to a hypothesis which although controversial is, to this writer's mind, not without merit, these myths reproduce the three key moments of the initiation ceremonies which in tribal cultures mark a boy's coming of age (see Brelich 1969). The first of these is the separation of the initiate from the group. The second is the period of "segregation" in which the initiate lived apart from the group: this period, which both in ritual and myth is often portrayed as the youth's death, includes in some cultures a period of "apprenticeship" to an adult male, often including a sexual relationship between the two. The third, finally, is the moment of reintegration, in which the individual, now no longer a youth but, instead, an adult in possession of the necessary qualities and tools for taking on his role as a warrior, a husband, and a father, rejoins the community. Thus these myths may well reflect both the practice of initiation rituals in prehistoric Greek society and the pederastic component of these rituals.

Along with the information from myths there are also authors such as the historian Ephorus (cited by the geographer Strabo at 10.4.21 = *Fgrhist* 70 F.149.21), and Plutarch, who speak respectively of the customs of Crete and of Sparta. In Crete, according to Ephorus, the adult men kidnapped their *eromenoi* and, after having led them outside the city, lived with them for two months (the period of segregation), following rules that established the obligations and rights of each in relation to the other, and at the end of this period they returned with the youths to the city and gave them a prescribed set of gifts, including military equipment, that symbolized the entry of the youth into the community of adults.

As for Sparta, Plutarch (*Lycurgus* 7.1) writes that the boys, when they became twelve years old, were entrusted to *erastai* chosen from among the best of the adults, and they learned from them how to be true Spartans, that is to say, citizens.¹² Last but not least, a confirmation of the existence of initiatory

pederasty comes from a series of inscriptions discovered at the end of the nineteenth century on the island of Thera, a few dozen meters from the place where the temple of Apollo Karneios stood—a god frequently connected with the coming-of-age of youths.

These inscriptions, which were dated to the Geometric period by the excavators (and more recently by Jeffery [1990.318–319] between the late Geometric and the seventh century), contain explicit references to the existence of pederastic couples on that island. One reads for example in one that (*IG* 12.3, 537a) "here Krímon sodomized his boy, the brother of Bathycles." It is difficult to believe in the hypothesis, advanced by some, that we are dealing here with "obscene inscriptions."¹³ Obscene inscriptions are, as a rule, anonymous; in these, by contrast, the writer declares his name, and seeks to make it known that the boy sodomized by him, defined as his *pais*, is the brother of Bathycles, unknown to us but evidently a person of note. The impression it conveys to us is that the author of the inscription wants it known that he has had a relationship—and not a casual one—with a boy from a socially important family.

The inscriptions, in sum, appear to preserve the memory of a socially important moment in the life of boys (indeed, their initiation phase) which involved a relationship, including sex, with an adult man.

We can conclude on this point that even if it is impossible to offer a certain solution to the problem of the origin of pederasty, the sources discussed show that the initiatory hypothesis does not lack an evidentiary basis. This does not alter the fact that the debate which it has created merits further reflection—among other things, because of its connection to the much-discussed question of reciprocal desire (or the lack thereof) in pederastic relations.

Asymmetrical relationships and desire: the construction of "frigid love"

In 1990, David Halperin (1990.54–71) challenged the initiatory hypothesis: he argued that the true function of this theory was political, in that it allowed the consideration of pederasty as a survival of a social ritual with no connection to sexual desire.

In Halperin's opinion, Bethe, followed by Patzer (1982), put forward this thesis in order to separate the Greek relationship between two individuals of the male sex from eroticism, with the goal of restoring heterosexuality to its role as the only legitimate sexuality. The problem of pederasty's origins, therefore, is linked by Halperin to that of sexual reciprocity, which has since then been at the center of an important debate.

Beginning with Kenneth Dover, in fact, many writers have proposed the image of an *eromenos* who is in principle always the object and never the subject of erotic desire. Authors as different as Claude Calame and David Cohen, for instance, have argued that the *eromenos*' goal in the pederastic relationship was to elude the *erastes*' seduction.

Between the *erastes* and *eromenos*, says Calame (1996.35–42), there was a relationship of *philia* (love/friendship), but within this relationship there was only one subject who desired, the adult; the youth limited himself to permitting the *erastes* to desire him, and if he yielded, he did so only to please his *erastes*, without expecting to feel or feeling pleasure.

According to David Cohen, the absence of sexual reciprocity stemmed from pederasty's origins as a kind of replacement or equivalent: as this masculine courtship was a substitute for heterosexual courtship rendered impossible by the absence of women, the boy would have to resist every attempt at seduction, in order to avoid accepting the role of a woman. The courtship, in short, was a zero-sum game: if the *erastes* prevailed, the boy lost. What was at stake in the game was his honor.

As this writer has already stated more than once, it is difficult to believe that such a strong asymmetry existed between the lovers in actuality.¹⁴ Certain ancient authors imply that it does. In Xenophon's *Symposium*, for instance (8.19–22), Socrates says that, unlike a woman, a boy, when he has sex with a man, does not feel the pleasures of love, but rather regards his *erastes* as a sober man regards one who is drunk with love: it is thus no surprise if the *eromenos* comes to despise his lover. This does not differ greatly from what Lysias says (or is said to have said) in Plato's *Phaedrus* (240C–E). These, however, are contrarian speeches, intended to reform their listeners' customs; they should not be accepted at face value as statements of common Athenian opinion.

To demonstrate this, beyond the findings of the studies conducted in subsequent chapters, it suffices to point to DeVries' seminal—though too often ignored—article (1997), which shows that declarations such as those of Xenophon and Lysias are refuted by the iconography, which clearly shows that sexual emotions were not the monopoly of the *erastes*. Recently, moreover, Vattuone (2004.197–223) has attacked this view of pederasty as "anaesthetic," i.e. as an attempt to make pederasty seems less unacceptable by modern standards.¹⁵

Indeed, it is important to observe that the initiatory hypothesis, with which we began this discussion, does not, *pace* Halperin, necessarily exclude sexual desire from pederastic relations, either in the *erastes* or in the *eromenos*. Instead, if accepted with the necessary caveats, this hypothesis has different consequences for the study of pederasty: it helps us to understand the fundamental nature of the pederastic relationship and the reasons why, after losing the institutional character that it had had for centuries, it continued to play an important social function and to be not only culturally valorized, but often even idealized. In the following sections, we will present the textual evidence for pederasty up to the Classical period, organizing it in chronological sequence. We hope, in this way, to verify if and until when the original pedagogical function continued to exist, and in what manner pederasty came to be perceived socially as the centuries passed.

Epic poetry: Achilles and Patroclus

Epic poetry (like lyric poetry, which we will consider next) is not Athenian. But when one turns one's attention to early Greek literature, Athens is not the source of the texts. However, because we know that both genres were essential in Athenian culture, it seems not only permissible, but necessary, to take these texts into consideration.

The presence of references to pederasty in epic poems is a controversial topic, and not easily resolved. At first reading, indeed, one could think that neither the *Iliad* nor the *Odyssey* contain references to this type of love. But a closer reading reveals evidence of male friendships whose nature and intensity seems different from that which joins two comrades in arms: for example, the well-known friendship between Achilles and Patroclus.

Patroclus was, beyond a doubt, the person to whom Achilles was most attached. His relationship with him was certainly stronger, emotionally, than his relationship with Briseis, his concubine, slave, and war trophy. As is well known, she was taken away from him by Agamemnon, who had been compelled to return *his* concubine, Chryseis, daughter of Chryses, priest of Apollo, and who wanted to make up for his loss. The reaction of Achilles need not be described: beside himself with rage, he withdrew from combat, with dire consequences for the Greeks.

This reaction was, however, in the first place, due to a question of prestige. Briseis (as was the fate of captive slave women) had been assigned to him as a prize, in recognition of his valor; to take her away from him was to diminish his *time*, his honor as a warrior.

The nature and intensity of his reaction to the death of Patroclus, killed in combat by Hector, was quite different. Achilles' grief was uncontrollable. Patroclus was irreplaceable in the hierarchy of his affections. He did not limit himself to weeping for his friend; instead, he held sumptuous funeral games in his honor and gave him the honors of a princely funeral, including the sacrifice of twelve young Trojan princes (*Iliad* 23, in particular 175–176). With Patroclus dead, his life had one aim: to kill Hector and avenge the death of his friend and then lie with him in the same grave, forever, beside him in death as he was in life.

I would say that the bard who composed the *Iliad* considered Achilles and Patroclus a pederastic couple.¹⁶ Faced with her son's desperation over Patroclus' death, the hero's mother, Thetis, exhorts him to continue living: for, she says to him (*Iliad* 24.128–130), "it is good to sleep with a woman." The meaning of the line is not entirely clear: does she mean that it is *also* good to sleep with a woman? Most scholars today argue against this interpretation (see for instance Patzer 1982.93–95). Nonetheless, a relationship with a woman is presented as an alternative to the relationship with Patroclus; thus his former relationship is inherently an erotic one. Furthermore, Thetis admonishes her son for not having respected the rules of the pederastic relationship: his relationship with Patroclus has gone on too long; he has passed the point at which, having reached adulthood, he should have taken on the role of a husband, bringing an end to the

time in which the pederastic relationship could be exclusive.

In any case, that Achilles and Patroclus were lovers was taken for granted in the Classical period (Skinner 2005.43–44). For example, in Aeschylus' *Myrmidons* (to which we will return later), Achilles, in front of his friend's cadaver, shouts out his desperation in language only a lover would use (frs. 135–136 Radt): "You did not respect my pure reverence for your thighs/ ungrateful for our intense kisses." Aeschines, in his oration *Against Timarchus* (1.142), also cites the two heroes among the couples celebrated by lovers, as does pseudo-Lucian (*Erotes* 54). Achilles and Patroclus were one of the heroic models for pederasty, like Harmodius and Aristogeiton, to whom we will return.

Achilles and Patroclus, however, gave rise to a debate that is very interesting for our purposes: the Greeks vigorously discussed the topic of this model couple, seeking to establish which of the two was the *erastes* and which was the *eromenos*. According to Aeschylus, as one can deduce from the verses cited above, Achilles was the *erastes*, but Plato held a different opinion: Aeschylus errs, Phaedrus says in the *Symposium* (180A), when he says that Achilles was the *erastes* of Patroclus; Achilles was much younger and did not yet have a beard. The title of a lost drama by Sophocles, *Achilles' Erastai*, leads one to believe that Sophocles was of the same opinion.¹⁷

What can be deduced from this controversy? According to some, this uncertainty about the roles indicates that in the Homeric age, the relationship between two men did not follow the pederastic norms. But the fact that, in the fifth and fourth centuries, the leading intellectuals viewed these greatest heroes as a pederastic couple, however they resolved the question of their roles, indicates, at any rate, that in these centuries pederasty was not only accepted but viewed as part of a model life.

Lyric poetry

An anthology of 1,388 verses, gathered in two books and attributed to Theognis of Megara, can be read as a story of love between the poet and a boy, often called Cyrnus. Whether the author of the verses (or all of the verses) was Theognis, or Cyrnus was a real boy, are secondary questions for our

purposes.

For those who seek to reconstruct the social history of pederasty, the verses attributed to Theognis are important because they explicitly confirm what emerges clearly, but only implicitly, from other sources: the *erastes* provided the *eromenos* with a civic and ethical education. Theognis (27–28) says to his boy that he will teach him traditional elite values: Wishing you well, I will teach you the things,

Cyrnus, that I myself learned as a child from the noble.

It would be difficult to find a clearer affirmation of the pedagogical ethic. Verses 1049–1050 voice analogous sentiments: As a father to his son, I myself will teach you

Noble things ...

The poet teaches the boy virtues such as moderation. The most important of these, however, is loyalty: loyalty to the poet/*erastes* and to the political faction into which he is inducting his *eromenos*. This is most often carried out by complaining about the boy's (or a boy's) disloyalty. Indeed, betrayal is possibly the most important theme of the collection, and it is hard (or often impossible) to distinguish erotic betrayal from political betrayal. In lines 1311–1318, for instance, the boy has betrayed his lover: the poem concludes by saying that his actions have cast being a lover of boys (the verb *paiderastein*) in a bad light; however, the lover refers to the boy as a "comrade" (*hetairos*)—a political term—and the boy has not abandoned him for another lover, but a plural group, "those men," i.e. another faction.¹⁸

You haven't got away with cheating me, boy—for I am after you—

With those men whose close friend you now are,

Having dropped my friendship without regard.

You weren't friends with them before:

It was I who thought I could make you my trusty

Comrade—but now you have another friend,

And I, for the kindnesses I've done you, am thrown over. Let no man,

Seeing you, desire to love a boy.

This political and pedagogical kind of love is superior to other kinds. In Theognis a theme first appears that will return (sometimes with different solutions) in later Greek literature: the comparison between love for a boy and love for a woman. As the poet tells us at 1367–1368, the love of women is inferior, because, specifically, women do not have the key virtue of loyalty:

A boy shows gratitude; a woman is a loyal companion

To no-one. She always loves the one who is at hand.

It is important, however, not to lose sight of the fact that this superior love is not only pedagogical and political, but also erotic. This is clear in verses 1299–1304:

Boy, how long will you flee from me? How I pursue you

And search for you. May I reach the end of your anger!

But you flee, with a faithless and arrogant spirit

And the ways of a pitiless kite.

Wait for me, instead, and grant me your favor(s): you will not long have

The gift of violet-crowned Aphrodite, the Cyprus-born.

Here too the boy is uncooperative. The erotic context is, however, clearer. What the teacher/poet/ *erastes* wants is the boy's "favor," and if it is possible to be unsure of what kind of "favor" this is, the last line and a half make it clear: it is a "favor" that the boy can only give while he has "the gift of violet-crowned Aphrodite," that is, his boyish beauty. Any favor other than a sexual one he could as or more easily give when he has grown a beard.

The beauty of boys is even more central in other poets. In Ibycus (fr. 288), for example, the boy's seductive attractiveness is his only characteristic:

Euryalos, offshoot of the Graces, darling

Of the beautiful-haired Hours, Aphrodite

And gentle-eyed Persuasion

Raised you among rose-blossoms.

As will be discussed below, the beauty of the *pais* is also an important theme in vase-painting, as is shown particularly by *kalos* -inscriptions (see in particular chapter 5). This beauty aroused a physical desire which is revealed in all its force even in the verses of an austere personage such as Solon. The famous Athenian lawgiver, as is known, entrusted to poetry the memory—it would be perhaps more correct to say the self-promoting celebration—of some of his public accomplishments, such as the redistribution of land and the abolition of debt-servitude. He also, however, wrote love poetry, of which a few fragments survive. In fragment 25, for instance, he openly recalls the erotic upheavals of his earlier days:

So long as a man, in the lovely bloom of youth, loves a boy,

Desiring his thighs and his sweet mouth.

If lips can also, in theory, be female, the thighs (as we have already seen in the *Myrmidons* of Aeschylus and will see repeatedly in vase-painting) are an "erogenous zone" only in the geography of pederastic relationships. Evidently, to physically desire boys was a thing that did not provoke even the slightest social discomfort; if that were the case, Solon, described in the sources as *diallaktes kai archon* (arbiter and leader) (Aristotle, *Constitution of the Athenians* 5.2) of the Athenians would certainly not have spoken in such explicit terms.

And Solon is certainly not an exception. If the verses in which Alcaeus declares his predilection for the seductive Menon (fr. 368) only imply sexual desire, other verses are more explicit—especially those of Anacreon, the poet who most often and best expresses the passion that accompanies, or at least could accompany the pederastic relationship.

Several boys' names appear elusively in the poet's fragmentary verses, and many more boys appear nameless. Anacreon too refers to thighs: in fragment 407, he asks a boy to pledge him his soft thighs as a toast. In fragment 360, he praises a boy for his "girlish looks" and tells him that, although he is unaware of it, he holds the reins of the poet's soul. Twice he writes about a boy named Cleobulus, whom he portrays as the object of what we would call an obsession:

I love Cleobulus,

I am mad about Cleobulus,

I gaze at Cleobulus.

Lyric poetry confirms that pederasty was a pedagogical practice of the elite in Archaic Greece. It also reveals that the pedagogical function of pederasty did not prevent this love from being a physical attraction with passion and desire.

The statues speak—the first half of the fifth century

With the end of the sixth century (and with it, with the exception of Pindar, the end of lyric poetry), the sources are silent for several decades; indeed textual references to pederasty are scarce in the first half of the fifth century.

Other than Pindar, whose poetry, focused on the praise of patrons and athletes (generally his aristocratic patrons' sons), carries on the beauty-centered tradition of Ibycus, the most important evidence for this period are two statues, the famous statues that depict Harmodius and Aristogeiton, the two lovers who, during the Panathenaic procession of 514, killed Hipparchus, the son of the tyrant Peisistratus. According to Thucydides (1.20, 6.52–60), the incident was a crime of passion: Hipparchus was in love with Harmodius, and this was the root of the problem. But for the Athenians, the two lovers were heroes who, by freeing them from tyranny, founded the democracy. As such, in fact, they came to be celebrated in vase-paintings, drinking songs, political oratory, public decrees, and in philosophy. For instance, in Plato's *Symposium*, Pausanias says (182B–C) that in countries that live under tyranny, the love of boys is condemned, as is the love of wisdom and gymnastics: for tyrants, he says, the strong friendships that form as a result of love are dangerous. And he adds that the Athenian tyrants had to learn this lesson at their own expense: the firm relationship of Harmodius and Aristogeiton destroyed their power.

But the most well-known evidence for this couple is not a literary text; it is the statues that were erected in the Agora. These were the first two statues erected in Greece dedicated not to mythical figures but historical people. They were important symbols of the democracy: the Persians, who brought the elderly ex-tyrant Hippias—Harmodius' brother—along when they invaded Greece in 480, took the originals back to Persia with them, but the Athenians had the artists Kritios and

Nesiotes design new ones almost immediately: they were erected only three years after the sack of Athens, in 477/476. We do not have either of the original pairs (though after Alexander brought the first pair back to Athens, they seem both to have stood in the Agora for centuries), but we do have much evidence about the later pair, including a well-preserved Roman marble copy, now in the Naples Archaeological Museum. Instead of these copies, we illustrate a plaster reconstruction of the originals ([figure 0.1](#)) and also a vase-painting which recreates the scene, perhaps on the basis of the statues (vase 2.23).

What is interesting, for our purposes, is the fact that the monument follows the conventions for the portrayal of a pederastic couple, as a markedly (i.e., unrealistically) nude, strikingly athletic pair, consisting of a bearded man and a beardless youth. Thus, as Andrew Stewart says (1997:73), they "not only placed the homoerotic bond at the core of Athenian political freedom, but asserted that it and the manly virtues of courage, boldness, and



Figure 0.1 Plaster reconstruction of the Tyrannicides, statue-group by Kritios and Nesiotes. Rome, Museo dei Gessi. Photo: DAI—Rome (neg. no. 84.331).

self-sacrifice that it generated were the only true guarantors of that freedom's continued existence."

The remaining evidence for Athenian attitudes prior to Aristophanes tallies well with this suggestion: these are the fragments, already quoted, from Aeschylus' *Myrmidons*. They are only two verses, yet they are important for the history of tragedy, because (aside from the issues discussed above), they make clear that in the early fifth century, the erotic aspect of the pederastic relationship could be explicitly presented—and associated with the greatest Greek heroes—in a civic performance such as tragedy.

Scanty as they are, the related sources from the first half of the fifth century are thus very interesting; in the light of what they say, it is difficult to deny that the Athenian democracy, in its early years, participated in the idealization of pederasty.

Philosophy

After the middle of the fifth century, the Greek or at least Athenian attitudes toward pederasty seem to change. The documents which have survived from this period are from many different literary genres, and they must be compared to each other with great caution; but in their totality they offer a view of pederasty—and of attitudes towards it—more complete than can be found for any other period.

Among these texts, first of all, the philosophical sources are of special interest for our study, beginning with those that help us understand the attitude of Socrates: first, Plato, and secondly Xenophon and Aeschines of Sphettus.

What was Socrates' attitude toward beautiful boys, the *paides kaloi*, the object of pederastic desire? That Socrates shared his fellow citizens' passion for adolescents seems evident.

In Xenophon's *Symposium* (8.2), he says that he does not remember a moment of his life when he was not in love; in Plato's *Meno* (76C) he recognizes that he cannot resist beauty, and, again in Plato, in the *Charmides* (155C–E), he admits that

he is attracted to the beauty of the boy from whom the dialogue takes its name (admired, incidentally as much by adults, who, like Socrates, go to the palaestra to admire and discuss the beauty of the boys, as by the boys themselves, all subject to his charm). His awareness of the beauty of Charmides is such that, when his glance slips inside Charmides' tunic, he confesses, blood rushes to his head, he is no longer master of himself, and he feels as if he finds himself in the claws of a wild beast.

But this does not mean that he gives into temptation. This is shown by his relations with the young, shameless and beautiful Alcibiades. While seduced by Alcibiades' beauty into feeling a true and real passion for him,¹⁹ he resists every attempt at seduction (Plato *Symposium* 219B–D). Alcibiades, the transgressor as always, breaks the rules of pederastic courtship, taking the initiative for himself, courting the man he wishes to make his *erastes*. But Socrates does not yield; what is the reason for this resistance?

In the first place, and generally, Socrates attributes fundamental value to continence as a model for life. Sexual continence, for him, is included in a general model of comportment which imposes self-control in every field. This more general reason, however, is linked with another, which has to do specifically with pederasty.

Socrates firmly believed in the pedagogical value of the love of boys, as, moreover, he explicitly declares, in Aeschines of Sphettus (fr. 11), in connection with the subject of his relations with Alcibiades: he claims to have hoped, by spending time with Alcibiades, to exercise an improving influence by means of his love, convincing him to give up his dissolute ways for a more moderate manner of living. In the case of Alcibiades, obviously, the hope was vain; but this does not alter the fact that for Socrates the task of the *erastes* was to improve and educate the *eromenos*.

In contrast to the lyric poets, however, for Socrates pedagogy and passion could not coexist. Socrates maintained that the physical aspect of the pederastic relationship should, if possible, be eliminated. But this does not mean that he disapproved of pederasty. On the contrary, he held it to be the highest form of personal relationship (*Symposium* 208E–209C) and at the same time the most exposed to temptation: for this reason it needed to be protected, by separating it from the passionate

element.

While not being entirely a misogynist, like some of his fellow citizens,²⁰ Socrates made a distinction between and a hierarchy among homo- and heterosexual relations. Pederasty gives birth to ideas and ideals; heterosexual relations give birth to bodies. Relationships with boys, therefore, could and should exist without sex, even though this rule was not binding. There are some men, says Socrates in the *Phaedrus* (225E–226B), who have sexual relationships with boys, and are of a noble nature. But only those who do not are philosophers.

It is true that in Xenophon, or at least in his *Symposium*, Socrates' opinions about pederasty seem very different from those of the Platonic Socrates. But these different attitudes are not hard to understand, if, as seems most likely, this work was written a few years after Plato's work of the same name, precisely with the aim of establishing distance from the ideas propounded in that work, and to convince the Athenians of the advantages of marriage, in contrast to the love of boys.

In Xenophon, matrimony was exalted because of its reproductive role. The most important issue for him was the reproduction of citizens—and not by accident. Thirty years after the end of the Peloponnesian War, Athens needed soldiers. The Athenians needed to reproduce, and pederasty, almost inevitably, came to be seen as a danger; some, moreover, thought that the decline of the noble institution into a purely sexual and vulgar practice was the cause of Athens' decadence. Such ideas will appear in the discussion of comedy and courtroom oratory below. Before turning to these genres, however, we would like to conclude by discussing two of the speeches in Plato's *Symposium*, speeches by figures who—according to Plato—shared an idealistic vision of pederasty, Pausanias and Aristophanes.

Originally, says Aristophanes (189C–193C), there were three sexes. At that time, human beings were different: they had the form of a sphere, and they moved by rolling along on four hands and four feet. Each one had two faces, on opposite sides of the sphere, and, also on opposite sides, two sexual organs. Some had two masculine sexual organs, others had two female sexual organs, and still others (the hermaphrodites) had one male organ and one female organ. However, one day, they became too arrogant and attacked Olympus; as a result, they were punished by Zeus, who cut each one in half; from that

moment on each half began to search for its lost half. Those that were originally completely men began to look for another man. Those that were completely women began to search for another woman. Those that were hermaphrodites began to search for the opposite sex. The speaker's judgment on the three groups is very different. Those that come from hermaphrodites are lovers of women: in our culture this group would undoubtedly be the object of praise, but Aristophanes instead points out that most adulterers come from this group. The women who seek other women—unsurprisingly—he dismisses with an extremely harsh term (*hetairistrai*). In describing the men who seek other men, he fails to follow the implications of his own story: instead of same-age male–male couples, they are described as *erastai* and *eromenoi*, though he conceives of them as having a tendency to prefer the love of men or boys, according to their age: they enter into marriage for social reasons, but are happy to live among themselves, without women. Of the three categories, this is the only one that is the object of praise. Having been completely men, in fact, they best express virility, and when they become adults, they are the best suited to being leaders.²¹

Pausanias (180C–185C) is even more explicit. In Pausanias' opinion, two types of love exist: one is inspired by Heavenly Aphrodite, the other by Vulgar Aphrodite, and the main difference between them is the fact that he who is inspired by Vulgar Aphrodite loves either men or women, without making a distinction, while he who is inspired by Heavenly Aphrodite loves boys.

It is, furthermore, Pausanias who formulates the opinion that, as far as we can tell, seems closest to the common Athenian view on the delicate problem of physical relations between lovers. Which physical expressions of love were socially acceptable, and which met with disapproval? Was it, or was it not, permitted for the *eromenos*, after having put up the obligatory resistance, to yield to the desires of the *erastes*? In Athens, Pausanias says, fathers have their sons guarded by *paidagogoi* (slaves who accompanied the boys to school and back) in order to prevent them from talking with *erastai*, and this could make one think that a love relationship between a boy and an man was considered shameful. But this is not the case. The love of boys can be a beautiful or ugly thing, good or bad, depending on how the affair is conducted. To yield

one's favors to a wicked man, that is to say, a vulgar *erastes* , who loves the body more than the soul, is a shameful thing. Those who love the body more than the soul are, among other things, inconstant; their love vanishes with the fading of the beauty of the beloved body. This is why, says Pausanias—as we have already seen—our law holds that boys should not yield quickly to courtships, but should put an *erastes* to the test. There is, however, a way in which a boy can honorably yield, and that is when he is convinced that he will gain wisdom from his *erastes* . When the lover and beloved have the same objective—the *erastes* leading the boy to wisdom, the boy seeking to attain it—then yielding to the *erastes* is a good thing (184C–185C).

Comedy

A characteristic of the work of Aristophanes is the bitter, despairing irony with which the great satirist denounces the tragedy of his deeply beloved Athens, the city which, in his youth, he had seen in its splendor, and now, sadly, after a few decades, he sees in its decline. Aristophanes has a lucid awareness of how Athens has turned toward—and in his judgment is largely following—the road to ruin. And he denounces what he sees as the cause: the government is in the hands of opportunists and incompetents—it is superfluous to recall his opinion of Cleon—and immorality is rampant.

To Aristophanes, his fellow citizens have acquired the habit of yielding themselves to other men. The ancient, noble custom of pederasty has degenerated, for him, into a collective vice. Most contemporary scholars, following Dover (1989.135–153), believe that Aristophanes' attacks concern exclusively those who allow themselves to be sodomized: the *katapugones* (buggers), *euruproktoi* (wide-assed), or *lakataproktoi* (cistern-assed), as Aristophanes calls them, among other terms. The adult who took on the active sexual role—even, in contradiction of the rules of pederasty, with another adult—was outside the reach of criticism. This has recently been called into question. Hubbard (1998, in particular 55–59) argues that the active and passive sexual roles were perceived in a more fluid and interchangeable way, and that blame could also fall upon the active partner. In this writer's judgment, this hypothesis is not completely

convincing; certainly the passive partner receives the lion's share of barbs. What is certain, at any rate, is that Aristophanes did not restrict his criticism to adults. He also included the boys, who, according to him, had, for their part, forgotten every rule, and yielded themselves in an impudent, dissolute way, without shame and without respect for convention.

The *agon* (debate) between the characters Better Argument and Worse Argument in *The Clouds* (lines 889–1104) is perhaps the moment in which, beneath the usual irony, the poet expresses in the most explicit way his bitterness, at the same time revealing an important aspect of his attitude: what he disapproves of, clearly, is not pederasty itself.

In his defense of old-fashioned education, Better Argument points out that boys in the past were modest and reserved, going to the palaestra not only to improve the body, but also the spirit. In silence, organized and trained, they went to their lessons, without coats even when it snowed, to temper body and spirit; they did not visit the hot baths, and unlike modern youths, they did not simper in order to provoke lovers; no boy, furthermore, would anoint himself with oil below the navel, as the boys now do in order to excite sexual desire.

But Worse Argument mocks his adversary without pity. What you say is simply ridiculous, he replies; you live outside the world, you are antiquated, times have changed. You describe principles of austere living which no one has ever followed: even Heracles, the strongest of the heroes, allowed himself to take hot baths.²² And then, above all, why do you condemn with such severity the *euruproktoi* ? Today the prosecutors, the tragedians, the politicians are *euruproktoi* —as is the entire public seated at this moment in this theater! The Better Argument can just give up, as nobody is restricted by shame any more. And indeed, he does give up; at the end of the debate, he admits defeat and goes over to the side of the *binoumenoi* —the sodomized.

Whether and to what extent Aristophanes' view corresponds to reality is not a problem that we can or want to address. What is certain is that in the late fifth century, as the debate between Better Argument and Worse Argument clearly shows, the Archaic, noble model of pederasty (in the double sense that it was practiced by the nobility and was, ethically speaking, noble) was in a state of crisis. Probably, Aristophanes painted a

darker picture than the reality (in part, perhaps, out of personal conviction; in part, certainly, to meet the conventions of the comic genre): it is difficult to believe that all Athenian adults were *katapugones* and all the boys corrupt. In any case, however, his exaggerations bring out, by contrast, the positive value of the noble model of pederasty, which Aristophanes, as a good conservative, looks back to with nostalgia.

Courtroom oratory

Aeschines' speech *Against Timarchus* is from the era that follows the chronological limits of this study. But it is a text which it is useful to examine, however briefly, as we seek to complete our brief portrait of pederasty.

A political ally of the famous orator Demosthenes, and, like him, an enemy of Alexander the Great's father King Philip of Macedon, Timarchus had accused Aeschines of betraying the interests of the city when he (among others) negotiated the so-called Peace of Philocrates in 346. But according to Aeschines, Timarchus did not have the right to speak before the tribunal. In his youth, he had been a prostitute, and the law on *hetairesis* (prostitution) (Aeschines 1.21) declared that if an Athenian was or had been a prostitute, he could not be one of the nine archons (the city's highest council), or serve as a priest, or as a public advocate, or as any other magistrate. He could not be dispatched as a herald, or express his opinion in the assembly, or assist at public sacrifices, or publicly carry any honorary crown, or enter into the sacred enclosure in the Agora. If he did any of these things, after having been found guilty of *hetairesis*, he would be punished with death.

Essentially, according to this law, those who prostituted themselves lost their civil rights. As the text of the oration clearly shows, the prostitute was guilty of a grave fault: that of having acted the role of a woman. Indeed, Aeschines (1.110–111) recounts how, when Timarchus and an associate had plotted to steal public funds, a citizen denounced him in the assembly, warning the Athenians that "a man and a woman are about to rob you of a thousand drachmas." And when someone asked him who the woman was, the citizen had answered "the woman was this man Timarchus."

And later in the oration (1.185), turning to the jury, Aeschines asks, "Will you have the affrontery, Athenians, to absolve this

man, who has committed the worst infamy? This man who has, with his man's body, committed the sins of a woman?" But perhaps the most interesting thing that emerges from the words of this oration is something else: the observation that in the fourth century, notwithstanding the anxiety which it clearly caused in this period, pederasty still continued to be culturally valued in a positive way, and this positive valuation was shared not only by the elite, but by the majority of the population. In fact, after having accused Timarchus of prostitution and described Timarchus' questionable erotic affairs, Aeschines fears being misunderstood by the jury who were to decide the case. I would not want, he says to them, Timarchus' defenders to accuse me of wanting to (1.132) "open an epoch of terrible barbarity," asserting that I want to mark anyone who has *erastai* with infamy. To discredit me, they will cite famous pairs of lovers, such as Harmodius and Aristogeiton, or, from earlier times, Achilles and Patroclus, insinuating that I don't recognize the value and the importance of these loves. And, indeed, I don't deny my own love affairs, I admit to having written erotic poems, and I declare, too, that I continue to love boys. Carrying on with the speech, Aeschines (1.136) says explicitly to the Athenians that he is careful not to condemn honorable love: what he condemns, as do the laws, are only mercenary relationships.

Achilles and Patroclus, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, therefore, were still models of ideal couples in the fourth century: Aeschines explicitly says that by declaring disapproval of pederastic love in this period one would risk being considered barbaric.

And this is not all: after praising the great lovers of earlier times, Aeschines goes on to praise recent ones (1.156), you know, Athenians, Criton, the son of Astiosos, and Periclides of Perithoidai, and Polemagenes and Pantaleones, the son of Cleagoras, and Timesitheos, the runner; they were the most beautiful not only in their city, but in all of Greece, and for this reason, had the most and the wisest lovers, and no one has ever cast blame upon them.

The oration continues with a list of some of the beautiful boys, courted and loved, who lived at that moment in the city (1.157):

among the youths and boys of today, I will mention in the first place the nephew of Iphicrates, the son of Teisius of Rhamnos, who has the same name as the defendant ... and also Anticles, the stadium runner, and

Pheidias, the brother of Melesias, and I could also mention many others. But I will stop, because I don't want it thought that I praise them in order to court them.

We have here a statement which does not require any comments. Pederasty no longer enjoyed the unquestioned status that it had in the Archaic period. Aristophanes made that clear. In Classical Athens, it caused anxieties and concern, whether for good reason or no. It continued, however, to be a model of a social relationship that was not only accepted, but idealized.

SECTION 2 THE ICONOGRAPHY OF PEDERASTIC SCENES

Andrew Lear

What is iconography?

Although we are only at the very beginning of this book, the words "iconography" and "iconographical" have already occurred a number of times. The study of iconography is the principal focus of this book; in fact, the study of iconography is both a focus in itself and the method by which we arrive at many of our non-iconographical conclusions. Thus, it seems a good idea, at the outset, to define for our readers our use of the word.

"Iconography" is a Greek word, although a late and rare one: it derives from the verb *grafein*, "to draw" and the noun *eikon*, "image" (which in its English derivative "icon," has been restricted to mean "holy image"). Thus "iconography" seems to mean the drawing of an image, and in its modern use, it has come to mean the way in which artists communicate through images, or perhaps—to put it more objectively—the language in which images communicate.²³ Cultures, periods, genres each have their own iconographies. Thus Athenian vase-painting has an iconography, but we may also define sub-iconographies within it, such as the iconography of scenes of women's toilettes, athletic scenes, or courtship scenes. Each of these genres or sub-genres has a vocabulary of elements and groupings of elements which an artist can repeat, combine, or vary—or leave out when a practiced viewer would expect them—thereby giving the viewer his version, or his view (at least at that moment) of the genre and/or the subject of the genre.

These are precisely the things that we explore in this book: the elements of which Greek images of pederasty are composed, how these elements are combined and varied, and what these elements, combinations, and variations show or imply about pederasty or the ideals associated with pederasty.

This focus has one very clear implication: by saying that we consider each painting as a recombination of elements from a repertoire of image-parts, we show that we do not consider the images to be drawn whole directly from the reality of ancient Greek life. This will perhaps seem an obvious point:

vase-paintings are not snapshots of life in ancient Greece. Yet it is surprising how often even the most highly trained scholars lapse into considering vase-paintings in some sense a trustworthy record of historical reality.

Perhaps this is due to a (no doubt unconscious) belief that visual media are, at least when representational, inherently more realistic than literary genres. Or perhaps, in this context, it derives from the fact that, while literary sources on pederasty are often so idealizing as to mention sex either not at all or only indirectly, vase-paintings often portray sex or at least evident sexual interest. Indeed, much of what we can surmise about the sexual practices of Greek pederasty derives from vase-painting.

However, a careful consideration of vase-painting will make clear that it represents actual ancient Greek life only in an indirect way. The representation of pederasty follows quite precise sets of conventions, although there are exceptions to these conventions, and the conventions change over time. It is possible that the practice of pederasty (or the conventions of actual pederasty) was sometimes or in some ways reflected in the conventions of vase-painting. There are, however, many cracks in the wall created by this set of conventions: cracks that allow us to see that these standard modes of representation exist to some extent independently of their relationship to reality. They are the way that pederasty was represented on vases, regardless of whether they always or even ever reflected actual practice.

There is a fine example of the distance between iconography and reality—to jump right into the sexual matters that are at the heart of this book—of which even readers who have until now paid ancient art only the slightest attention are probably aware: the size of male genitalia as portrayed in Greek art. Most Greek statues and most vase-paintings portray male genitalia as smaller than mature genitalia really are. It has been pointed out (Steiner 1998.132–133), for instance, that the so-called *kouros* statues of young men that were produced throughout the Greek world in the seventh and sixth centuries portray an impossible human form: they have a muscular development that is possible in males only from adolescence on and the genitalia of children. The same is true of most of the men portrayed in this book, and indeed of almost all men in pederastic vase-painting. Of course some Greek men may have

had small genitalia. However, as Kenneth Dover points out (1989.124–134), the high percentage of Greek men portrayed with small genitalia in art shows that the portrayal of their genitalia does not vary in relationship to a necessarily variable reality.

Why is this? Dover points out that we know from several references in Greek comedy that the Greeks considered small genitalia preferable and associated them with certain preferred behaviors or ways of being: for instance, in Aristophanes' *Clouds* (1014), the Better Argument, defending the traditional, heroic/athletic Athenian education system, claims that one of its advantages is that it will give a boy "big buttocks and a little dick." It is thus probable that the small genitalia of Greek men in art are an idealization: these men are portrayed as having small genitalia because such genitalia were considered preferable. In fact, a comparison of the men and youths in pederastic courtship scenes to Satyrs (see vase 3.11) and men and youths in orgy scenes with prostitutes (see vase 3.10) will make this even clearer: small genitalia are one of the set of conventions of the portrayal of pederastic courtship (or of respectable behavior in general), while over-size genitalia are an option an artist may choose when he wishes to portray other aspects of masculinity.

Undeveloped male genitalia are an element in certain iconographies. In this book, again, we explore the elements of the iconographies with which Athenian vase-painters portrayed the practice of pederasty, the iconographies that these elements build, and their implications.

Elements of iconography

Given our focus on iconographies and their elements, it also seems a good idea to introduce, at the outset, some of the elements, or categories of elements, that we consider in our interpretations of vase-painting. There is no commonly agreed terminology for such matters; we therefore use what seem to us the simplest and most comprehensible terms for the elements that we consider: scene-type, figure, costume, posture, gesture, prop, synecdoche, symbol, inscription, and decorative program.

As we mentioned above, Sir John Beazley, in the first classification of pederastic vase-paintings, classed the paintings

he considered by scene-type. The three scene-types that he devised were: a', courtship scenes in which the *erastes* makes what Beazley called the "up and down" gesture, that is, reaches for or touches the boy's chin and genitals simultaneously; b', courtship scenes in which the *erastes* offers his *eromenos* a courting-gift or the boy holds a gift that he has accepted; ²⁴ and c', scenes which, as Beazley says, are "later" in the courtship, in which the lovers engage in a kind of sex which has more recently been defined as "intercrural" intercourse. ²⁵

In this work, we will consider these scene-types and several others: scenes of kisses (which Beazley regards as a later version of scene-type a') (chapter 1), scenes in which two *erastai* compete for an *eromenos* (chapter 1), scenes of lovers reclining together at the symposium (chapter 1), ²⁶ scenes of Zeus and Ganymede (chapter 4), various scenes in which Eros appears (chapter 4), and so on.

A scene-type may be broadly defined as a certain set of figures in a certain, typical relation to each other: in the courting-gift scene, for instance, a male figure marked as older holds out a gift toward a male figure marked as younger. Even these most basic elements can vary: there can be more than one *erastes*, the youth can hold the gift, and even the gift or the difference in age-markings can (as we will argue below) be absent. However, the schema of gift-giving *erastes* and gift-receiving *eromenos* facing each other is frequently enough repeated that, despite variation, this schema itself is an important element in vase iconography.

The elements of which each scene of the scene-type is composed mostly come from a standard repertoire associated with it. These too, however, vary; elements from other scene-types or even whole other scene-types can be added; and most of the basic elements can be left out. To follow these variations, it is necessary to pay attention to elements that a casual observer might ignore. One way to do this is to regard the figures in the scenes as paper dolls, or perhaps Ken and Barbie dolls. Like Ken and Barbie (or perhaps more appropriately, Ken and Bobby), the figures in these paintings can be put in different postures, make different gestures, wear different costumes, and use different props. All of these elements are variable and open to interpretation.

Synecdoche, the representation of a whole by a part of that whole, is a common technique in vase iconography. ²⁷ This is

particularly true in the case of the gymnasium, which, as Bérard and Durand point out (1989.31–34) may be represented (or symbolized) by a number of objects, such as an athlete's gym-kit (see vases 0.5, 1.1, 1.13 and so on) or the *terma* (the marker at the end of a race-course) (see vase 1.6).²⁸ Synecdochic elements abound, however, in every kind of vase-painting. Certain elements can, furthermore, be detached from the scene-type in which they habitually occur and become a kind of symbol for that scene-type or for its subject (see discussion of the hare below). We call such elements too synecdoche, not symbol, in order to maintain a distinction between them and those elements, such as the god Eros, that are symbols created by means other than synecdoche.

Two further elements of interest are inscriptions and decorative program. What vase scholars call inscriptions are in fact not inscriptions, in the strict sense of the word: they are not inscribed texts, but rather words or groups of words painted on the vase by the vase-painter before firing as part of his original design.²⁹ There are several different types of such inscriptions. The most common simply name the objects next to or on which they occur or give a name to a figure in a scene (see [chapter 5](#)). Others represent what the figures in the scene are saying, like modern cartoon bubbles (see vases 0.6, 3.1, and 7.2). The inscriptions that interest us most in this study praise a boy by proclaiming his beauty. There is some variation in the wording of these inscriptions, but almost all consist of a name plus the adjective *kalos* (beautiful) or the words *ho pais kalos* (the boy is beautiful).³⁰ The relationship of these inscriptions to the scenes in which they occur is the subject of much discussion. Often, it is ambiguous, and in any case, as Dover (1989.116–121) shows, it clearly varies. Some seem to refer to a figure in the scene (see for instance vases 1.5, 1.18, 2.12, 4.16), while some clearly do not: Dover (1989.118) points out, for instance, a scene of a bald man copulating with a woman and the inscription *ho pais kalos*.

A further element of interest is what we call "decorative program": this is the relationship (of complement or contrast) that often exists, or seems to exist, between the images on a vase's various surfaces. A book like ours might tend to exaggerate the importance of such relationships in vase-painting, in that we only illustrate more than one image from a vase if there is a meaningful relationship between them. Such relations

are not, however, present on all vases with several scenes; ³¹ indeed, on some vases, the scenes are even by different painters. Yet many cases in which there are, or may be, such relationships, will be illustrated in the pages that follow and will (we hope) shed much light on the meaning of pederastic iconography.

In order to introduce the reader to the elements listed above, we will discuss three scenes of Beazley's type a', scenes in which the central motif is the up-and-down gesture, or as we might prefer to put it, a couple engaged in up-and-down courtship. The three vases (o.2, o.3 and o.4) are all listed by Beazley in his comments on Cypriot vases. ³²

The first, vase o.2 (Würzburg 241) which Beazley (1947.201) calls "the finest of these paintings" represents his up-and-down scene simply and clearly. The *erastes* is making the aforementioned *gesture* (or gestures): with his left hand, he touches the *eromenos*' chin, while with the right, he touches his genitals.³³ We will discuss these gestures further in chapters 1 and 3: in our view they do not represent a gesture-set actually used by Greek *erastai*, but rather two gestures combined by vase-painters (like a boy's penis on an adult's body) for symbolic purposes.

The two figures' *postures* convey a great deal about their roles in the erotic situation. The *erastes*' bent knees indicate his hope or intention of engaging in the kind of intercourse, called "intercrural," portrayed in Beazley's type c', which takes place with the *erastes*' knees bent (see chapter 1). The *eromenos*' unbent posture will also be discussed more completely in chapter 3. It too indicates something: not a refusal to engage in intercourse, but a disinterest in it which the Greeks considered the appropriate attitude for the *eromenos*.

Both figures are nude, as is typical for pederastic couples on black-figure vases (while on red-figure, *erastai* are usually clothed).³⁴ Greek men in fact exercised naked in the gymnasium, and the nudity of these figures thus corresponds to a real-life version of this scene. Nudity is, however, far more widespread in Greek art than it was in Greek life, and it has been suggested (Bonfante 1989) that this nudity be regarded as a *costume* that identifies the men who wear it as athletes or heroes. We would like to expand this concept and suggest that the figures' massive chests and thighs be considered part of this athletic/heroic costume. The figures' non-erect penises,

clearly unrealistic under the circumstances portrayed, could also be considered part of a costume (although one might also class their non-erection as a negative



Figure 0.2 Amphora by the Phrynos Painter. Photo: Martin-von-Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg.

gesture). Further, the *erastes'* beard (again, typical mainly in black-figure) and the *eromenos'* beardlessness might be seen as part of the costume, or even as a *mask*. The *eromenos'* hairstyle, with long hair at the back and a long side-lock, is

also typical of black-figure *eromenoi* and might be considered part of the mask.³⁵ This idea may seem exaggerated, but it will seem less so if one thinks of the Greek theater rather than the modern theater as the point of comparison: Greek actors wore masks, and in comedy, the actors wore grotesque padding with large erect penises attached to the front—in effect, the opposite of the muscular builds and non-erect penises of our figures.

The figures are also carrying *props*. Both have wreaths, which could well be prizes for athletic victories: the *erastes*, in particular, has a wreath over his arm, which is characteristic of prize-winning athletes in vase-painting (see vases 2.16–18). The spear the *eromenos* carries is most likely, like a javelin, a gymnasium implement as well. The figures' muscular development, the wreaths and the spear are pieces of a gymnasium scene (see chapter 2); they are, separately or together, enough to convey an athletic/gymnasium setting. It is this depiction of a setting or an activity by an element or elements from or of it that we call *synecdoche*.

The next vase, vase O.3 (Providence 13.1479), again presents an up-and-down scene, although the up-gesture takes an unusual form: the *erastes* seems to be patting the *eromenos*' head—or stroking his hair—rather than chucking his chin. The down-gesture has not yet reached its goal. These differences demonstrate the variation that can exist within a scene-type, even as to its most fundamental elements. This scene also makes clear that scene-types can mix: it is both an up-and-down scene and a courting-gift scene at the same



Figure 0.3 Small neck-amphora by the Painter of Louvre F 51. Photo: Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design. Gift of Mrs. Gustav Radeke. Photography by Erik Gould.

time. The *eromenos* here is holding a courting-gift of two hens. It is interesting to note that the courting-gift too can vary (see chapters 1 and 2). This vase has a simple *decorative program*. On the other side of this vase, there is a similar scene of courtship, with courting-gifts but without the up-and-down gestures. The *eromenos*, like the one on the side that we illustrate, is carrying the courting-gift he has accepted, but it consists of fighting-cocks. On the side that we illustrate,

the *erastes* also seems to be bringing a stag (an animal which occurs as a love-gift, as in vases 0.4 and 2.9) as well. The stag, along with the dog the *erastes* holds on a leash on the other side (another prop), connect these scenes, by synecdoche, with hunting rather than with the gymnasium (see [chapter 2](#)). In vase 0.4 (Munich 1468), an up-and-down scene is also the center of the composition. Many elements are standard ones that we have seen before,



Figure 0.4 Amphora by the Painter of Cambridge 47. Photo: Staatliche Antikensammlung und Glyptothek München.

particularly in vase 0.2: the figures have similar degrees of beardedness and hair length, both are nude, the *erastes* touches both the *eromenos*' chin and genitals, the *erastes* is in the pre-intercrural posture, the *eromenos* is upright. The scene is more complex than our previous two in a number of ways, however. While, for instance, the *eromenos* on 0.2 merely holds his spear, the *eromenos* here makes potentially communicative gestures. With his right hand, he is holding the *erastes*' left wrist: this gesture has traditionally been viewed as one of resistance, but as DeVries has shown (1997.14–24), it is more likely to be one of acceptance.³⁶ With his left hand, he is holding a wreath in what is possibly another gesture of acceptance (see vase 1.9). The *erastes*' knees are bent more deeply here, and the *eromenos* is even more rigidly upright and looks straight over the *erastes*' head: this is the typical posture of an *eromenos* in intercrural scenes (Beazley type c'). Thus we have here a mixture of elements from all three of Beazley's scene-types, up-and-down, courting-gift (although it is a side figure who carries a gift), and intercrural.

There is also a more complicated decorative program on this vase than we have previously seen. There are paintings on both sides of this vase, both on the belly of the vase and the shoulder. The large belly scene on the other side portrays a youth in a chariot. The connection here is of a kind common in vase-painting. As Schnapp (1997.254) points out with respect to vase 2.4, the two scenes represent different aspects of a life-style, that of elite males. But what of the scenes on the shoulders? On both sides, these represent wrestling. The parallels between the upper and lower scenes on the side that we illustrate are unmistakable: there are four figures in each scene, of whom the central two are a bearded man and a youth engaged in a kind of contact. Indeed, one could see this parallel as supporting the theory (Barringer 2001.85) that vase-painting portrays *erastes* and *eromenos* as competing with each other. There is, however, no such possible connection between the upper and lower scenes on the other side, and we think it unlikely that this connection is present on our side either. Instead, it seems more likely that there is the same kind of programmatic connection that links all of the other images on the vase: the wrestlers in the upper panel convey a connection between the lower scene and the gymnasium, which is, as we have already seen, so often the locus of pederastic

scenes. In effect, on our reading, the upper scene is a synecdoche for the gymnasium.

There are also two elements in the main scene on our side that are not present in the other two scenes that we have examined. First, in this scene, alone of the three, there are *inscriptions* : that is, the painter has included words in his composition. As sometimes occurs in black-figure, however, these inscriptions, though they might seem, from their position, to name the figures, are instead nonsense strings of letters.³⁷ Finally, there are the side figures in the courtship scene. Framing figures are a common motif in vase-painting, particularly in black-figure, and their relationship to the scene is often, as here, ambiguous (see Kaeser 1990.153). Are they participants in the scene, or is their significance purely symbolic? If the former, they may be competitors of the *erastes*—the right-hand figure not only brings a courting-gift but makes a down-gesture of his own—or they may just be other participants in a party. If symbols, they may indicate the exciting nature of the central action. In either case (or if, as is most likely, both are the case), they are elements of a different iconography, the iconography of scenes of komastic dancing (see chapter 3), and they relate the central couple to scenes of the symposium, or the *komos*, a wild party into which the symposium often (by tradition) degenerated. Thus they add to the mixture of pederasty and athletics another aspect, or activity, of the elite—and the deer hanging over the right-hand side-figure's shoulders also brings in an association with the hunt. Indeed, while vase 0.2 associated pederasty with athletics, and vase 0.3 associated it with hunting, vase 0.4 associates it with athletics, the symposium, and hunting.

Thus we have seen how the elements of an iconography function in several scenes within a scene-type. Each scene adheres to the basic arrangement of figures that identifies the scene-type and contains elements standard to that scene-type. Nonetheless the scene-type comes in any number of different versions, with any number of different elements, including elements that come from other scene-types and bear with them different associations.

Further definition of decorative program and of the use that we make of the term "symbol" will be found, among other places, in the discussion of vase 1.10. Before concluding this introduction, we would like to dedicate some special attention to

the role of synecdoche in vase-painting, as this concept may be the least familiar to our readers and also is, along with scene-type, the center of our interpretative method. It would be hard to exaggerate the importance of synecdoche in vase iconography. For example, when a scene is indoors, this is usually indicated by the presence not of an entire building but by a single column (see vase 1.18). An outdoor scene will be indicated by a single tree. Many of the locational synecdoches in this book, as previously noted, stand for the gymnasium. Beazley's scene-type b', the courting-gift scene, is overall the most common type of pederastic scene.³⁸ These scenes have a particular relationship to synecdoche. In a sense, they themselves are a synecdoche. There is little evidence for gifts in pederastic courtship outside of vase-painting; indeed there are only four references to it in textual sources, all in comedy.³⁹ In any case, giving gifts can only have been one step in a courtship, not to speak of an entire relationship. Yet in the world of vase-painting, these scenes were for many years the main image of pederasty: this scene-type is a part which represents the whole of pederasty. Further, the animals which were commonly given by *erastai* to *eromenoi* in these scenes—of which the commonest are the fighting-cock and the hare or rabbit⁴⁰—are so associated with pederasty in vase-painting that they serve as a kind of synecdoche for pederasty: they break loose from their original significance as props with a concrete role



Figure 0.5A Kylix by Douris. Exterior. Photo RMN © Musée du Louvre—Les frères Chuzeville.



Figure 0.5B Kylix by Douris. Interior. Photo RMN © Musée du Louvre—Les frèresChuzeville.

in courtship scenes and become an independent indicator of pederastic interest.

In vase 0.5 (Paris G 121), we can see the hare functioning in both ways: as an element in courtship scenes and as a relatively independent synecdoche.⁴¹ In the courtship scenes that form a frieze around the cup's inner and outer sides, the hare serves as a prop: three of the *erastai* offer hares to the *eromenoi* they are courting. In the tondo,⁴² a youth holds a

hare on his lap. It is beyond doubt that there is a programmatic connection between the tondo and the scenes on the sides: in the frieze, the *erastai* put hares on the youths' laps, and here we see a youth with a hare on his lap. In effect, the tondo scene, although more carefully painted, is a synecdoche from the frieze. We do not see the *erastes*, but he is unnecessary to convey the scene's meaning. The scenes in the frieze make clear where hares come from, and here the youth has a hare. The hare marks the youth as an *eromenos* just as the gym-kit of sponge and *aryballos* (oil-flask), hanging on the "wall" to the right, marks him as an athlete.⁴³

Another scene that makes clear this use of the hare as a synecdoche for pederastic courtship is the tondo of vase o.6 (Athens 1357). Here we do not see an *eromenos*: there is only a bearded man (reclining on a couch, and therefore at a symposium) stroking a hare. The gesture alone already hints at a pederastic connection: it is far more usual in vase-painting for a youth to pet a hare than for a bearded man to do so—and we have seen the meaning of a



Figure o.6 Kylix. Photo: National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

scene in which a youth pets a hare. But the inscription in the scene makes the connection even clearer. The man's head is tilted back in a gesture which indicates singing, and the words he is singing are painted, as if coming out of his mouth, in an arc along the top of the vase. He is singing a phrase that we also know from a collection of poetry traditionally attributed to the poet Theognis: "oh most beautiful of boys." Thus we see clearly what the connection is in the world of Greek vase-painting between a bearded man and a hare: the *eromenos* is not present here, because, like the missing *erastes* in the tondo of vase 0.5, his presence is unnecessary to convey the scene's significance. A hare is enough to convey the existence of a lover, *erastes* or *eromenos*, in the world of vase-painting.⁴⁴

The hare becomes an even more independent signifier in the tondo of vase 0.7 (Munich 2656). Here, again, in the frieze on the cup's outer sides,



Figure 0.7 Kylix by Makron. Photo: Staatliche Antikensammlung und Glyptothek München.

the hare appears as a gift in courtship scenes. In the tondo, on the other hand, the *erastes* (here a youth, as is common in red-figure) has a different courtinggift, a kind of sack which some believe contains money (see discussion of vases 2.10–2.12). The hare hangs on the wall, as if unattached to the scene: the *erastes* neither looks at it nor touches it. What is its role here? Clearly, it connects this *erastes* to the scenes on the cup's sides; perhaps it tells us that the beloved to whom he is offering the sack (which would more typically be a gift for a woman) is a boy.

This argument can be taken farther. It was developed far more fully than we have done here, in a book that has unfortunately never been translated from the German, *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke* (Boy-love and Animal-gifts) by Gundel Koch-Harnack (1983). Koch-Harnack (in particular pp. 83–97) points out several other Athenian vase-paintings where hares appear and contends that the hares in the scenes function as a connection between them and pederasty. In some cases, this may be exaggerated: hares occur in hunting scenes as well as pederastic scenes and are not invariably a marker for pederasty. Yet in some cases, the hare seems to function exactly as Koch-Harnack argues. In vase 0.8 (Berlin 2292), for instance, where a group of bearded men converse in the gymnasium (yet again, identified by rub-down kits hanging on the wall), she claims that the hare also hanging on the wall indicates that the men are talking about their *eromenoi*. This interpret-

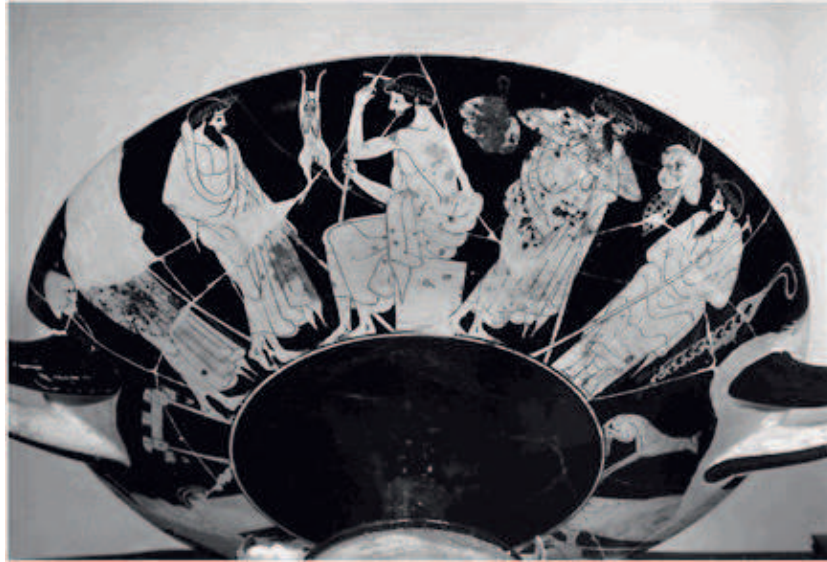


Figure 0.8 Kylix by Makron. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. F 2292. Photography by Jutta Tietz-Glagow, Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

ation seems to us quite secure: hares most often appear in the gymnasium as courting-gifts, so the hare in that context seems quite surely pederastic; also, the standing man in the right-hand pair is holding the same kind of sack as the *erastes* in vase 0.7, and, given that there is nothing to buy in the scene, this must surely also be a courting-gift awaiting the appearance of his beloved (male or female). There are also ambiguous cases. In vase 2.18, for instance, where an athlete, already wreathed and about to be crowned again, has (along with his *aryballos*) a hare hanging from his wrist, Koch-Harnack argues that the hare is a proof that the *eromenos* has learnt to hunt from his *erastes*. This is not impossible. As we will show in our discussion of vases 2.16–2.18, the figure of the athlete and that of the *eromenos* are often indistinguishable, so it would not be surprising if this figure represented both types simultaneously. However, before we can turn to ambiguous cases, we must first show the reader how the elements discussed in this

chapter build up the commonest of pederastic iconographies,
the courtship scene.

1

COURTSHIP

Andrew Lear

SECTION 1 COURTING-GIFT SCENES

Despite the great importance of pederasty as a theme in the remains of Greek literature, the actual modalities of courtship are hardly mentioned outside of comedy. In vase-painting, the situation is far different. Courtship scenes are the vast majority of the pederastic scenes we know today. In our appendix, for instance, the two main courtship iconographies comprise over half of the scenes, while scenes of intercourse comprise under 10 percent (see note 38, p. 237).

However, a short caveat is in order. When we say that these scenes are the majority of the scenes we know, what we mean is that they are the majority of the scenes that we recognize as pederastic. This is so not only because there are many courtship scenes, but also because we are only able to recognize these specific types of courtship in vase-painting.

If one bears in mind the audience for which vases were made, however, one can see that there are connections between pederasty and other iconographies as well. The vase shapes and iconographies represented in this book were developed for use at the symposium. Respectable citizen women did not attend the symposium; the only women present were *hetairai*, musicians, and slaves.¹ As these were not the purchasers of drinking-vessels, they were unlikely to be considered important by the potters/painters who made the vases: the vases' intended audience consisted of men. If one considers this fact, one might consider many vase-paintings implicitly pederastic. For example, a cup on which an athlete is depicted and called, in an inscription, *kalos* (beautiful), although it does not portray an erotic activity, would fit into the category: it presents an idealized or typified *eromenos* for the admiration of the adult male user whom it thus puts in the position of *erastes*. Scenes of beautiful young athletes (with or without *kalos* -inscriptions) are even more common than courtship scenes and might thus be considered the most common pederastic scene-type.

However, courtship scenes remain the most common explicit representation of pederasty; they are therefore more informative for the viewer today, and they seem to us the best group with which to set off on our exploration of pederastic relations.

We start with the most common of courtship iconographies, the courting-gift scene, Beazley's type b'. Many different gifts are

possible in these scenes, as we have already seen. As we said above, the commonest gifts in these scenes are the fighting-cock and the hare. Other animals also, however, appear as gifts: deer/stags, foxes, a kind of cat (probably a cheetah, see Ashmead 1978), and possibly hunting-dogs (see vases 0.3, 1.6, 2.4, 2.9). There are also many non-animal gifts: musical instruments, mainly lyres; gymnasium apparatus, in particular strigils (a scraper used for personal hygiene); toys; fronds, flowers, fruit; legs of meat, loaves of bread, and various sacks, some of which clearly contain *astragaloi* (knucklebones which the Greeks used in a game like rolling dice) and some of which, as mentioned above, may possibly contain money. Of these we have already seen cocks/hens (vases 0.2 and 0.3), stags/deer (vases 0.3 and 0.4), hares (vases 0.5–8), a cheetah (vase 0.8) and sacks (vases 0.7 and 0.8). Most of the other gifts mentioned appear later in the book, as do such exceptional gifts as a fish (see vase 4.9) and a writing-tablet (vase 2.7).

It has been argued that the different gifts *erastai* offer have particular meanings: gifts of animals, in particular, have been seen as reflecting the connection between pederasty and pedagogy that is a theme of the literature on this topic, or as implying that the *eromenos* has the role of prey in the pederastic relationship.² Gifts of greater value (in particular the sacks which in this argument are seen as containing money) distance either courting-gift scenes in general or those scenes where these particular gifts are offered from such ideals/idealizations. We will consider these ideas in chapter 2, section 2.

For the moment, we will concern ourselves with a different kind of variation in courting-gift scenes: the way in which many different phases and facets of courtship are expressed through the offer of gifts. As will be seen, the courting-gift serves in these scenes as what T. S. Eliot called an "objective correlative"³ for courtship. It is a visual embodiment of the *erastes*' offer, and it can be manipulated in various ways in an image to express a variety of meanings.

In vases 1.1–3, we see three different phases of courtship, portrayed through the relation of the two courting figures to a courting-gift—or through the gestures and so forth that express it.⁴ The scene in the tondo of vase 1.1 (Würzburg 482), set in the gymnasium by a rub-down kit hanging to the right of the

couple, represents an early phase of courtship: the *erastes* has not even shown the *eromenos* his courting-gift. The bearded *erastes* stands in front of his *eromenos*, leaning down toward him and supporting himself on his cane. As many examples in the book will show, this is an arch-typical posture/prop set for an *erastes* in red-figure vase-painting; perhaps one could say that it symbolizes the *erastes*' leisured status and/or the leisureliness of courtship (Kaeser 1990.154). With his left hand, he makes a gesture that looks like the modern gesture of holding one's hand on one's heart. We do



Figure 1.1 Kylix by Douris. Photo: Martin-von-Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg.

not know exactly what the gesture means: perhaps it indicates some kind of confession. In any case, it is a conversational gesture. He holds his courting-gift, a hare, in his right hand, but it is behind him, where the *eromenos* cannot see it. The *eromenos* is wrapped up in his cloak: it comes up to his chin and forms a hood over the back of his head.⁵ This has been interpreted as the visual equivalent of the term *aidos*, a Greek term for modesty.⁶ Thus it is a kind of symbolic costume. It should also, however, perhaps be seen in the context of the spectrum of gestures that *eromenoi* make with their cloaks in red-figure painting. In this light, being wrapped in one's cloak is the completed gesture of wrapping oneself in one's cloak: it is not so much a symbol of *aidos* as an acting-out of the concept. In contrast to other possibilities, it keeps the *eromenos* 'nude body from the *erastes* ' sight/touch and also, by concealing the *eromenos* ' hands, temporarily precludes his accepting the gift.

In the tondo of vase 1.2 (Würzburg 480), courtship has advanced a little farther. The *eromenos*, although not hooded, is wrapped above his chin in his cloak, but the *erastes* offers him his hare. Indeed, the *erastes* is in the same position as the *erastai* on the sides of vase 0.5, but he does not put the hare on the *eromenos* ' lap: instead, he is as forceful—or more precisely, "in your face"—as he can be about showing him his gift. Note that the *erastes* here is a youth, rather than a bearded man. This is the case in many red-figure scenes and increasingly the case in later ones; the meaning of this shift will be discussed in chapter 2, section 1.

Yet a further step is portrayed on vase 1.3 (Villa Giulia 50384). Here once more the *erastes* is a youth, but in this case an age distinction between *erastes* and *eromenos* is clear, despite the *erastes* ' beardlessness. Both figures are standing, and this allows the painter to make clear that the *erastes* is taller (or necessitates



Figure 1.2 Kylix by Makron. Photo: Martin-von-Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg.



Figure 1.3 Kalpis by the Kleophrades Painter. Photo: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Lazio, Sezione Etruria Meridionale.

his doing so). The *erastes* also has a clearly delineated sideburn, while the *eromenos* is clean-cheeked.⁷ In this scene, we see the *eromenos* take a first step toward accepting the gift. He does not open his cloak, as a real boy would (or would have to) to reach out for something. Instead, he keeps his cloak—or his *aidos*—still wrapped tightly around him, but his hand peeks out of the top of it to examine the hare, or perhaps to pet it, like the boy in the tondo of vase 0.5.⁸ Vase 1.4 (Munich 2655) portrays several different phases of courtship, side by side. Here, as in vase 0.5, there is a frieze

of courtship scenes around the cup's sides (though only the outer sides). In this case, though, these scenes are as carefully painted as the tondo scene, and each couple is at a different moment of courtship. We illustrate only one side of the frieze. All three *erastai* are taller than their *eromenoi* ; two are youths, while one is a bearded



Figure 1.4A Kylix by Makron. Exterior. Photo: Staatliche Antikensammlung und Glyptothek München.



Figure 1.4B Kylix by Makron. Interior. Photo: Staatliche Antikensammlung und Glyptothek München.

man. All three lean on their canes. In the right-hand couple, the bearded *erastes* has fronds or tendrils in each hand. He holds one in reserve and makes the "in your face" gesture with the other one, while the *eromenos* is wrapped up to his chin in his cloak—although here, in contrast to the otherwise analogous pair on vase 1.1, we can see his arm under his cloak, making as if to rise. In the middle couple, the *eromenos* goes farther toward accepting the gift than did the *eromenos* on vase 1.3: his chest is bared as he reaches toward the *erastes* with a gesture that is like a handshake but seems to indicate acceptance. The *erastes* holds his gift, a hare, by his side, perhaps to lure the *eromenos* closer now that he has indicated interest. In the left-hand couple, things have progressed even farther. Here too the *erastes* has his gift, a fighting-cock, next to himself, but the exchange has moved into a phase where the gift is no longer the center of attention: the

eromenos has opened his cloak and displays both his genitals and his buttocks. This gesture relates to the scene's narrative oddly: a boy facing front can not display both his genitals and his buttocks to his lover. The goal of the portrayal is, however, not naturalistic: it portrays not only a boy opening his cloak but a boy providing the view/access that opening his cloak implies. This is the opposite end of the spectrum of cloak-gestures from the *aidos* gesture. While the *erastai* in the two left-hand couples are looking at or over their *eromenoi*'s heads, the *erastes* in this last couple is looking down at the boy's genitals.

Just as there is a question, in vase 0.4, about the relationship between the side-figures and the courting couple, here there is a question about the relation between the three couples. Are they together at a symposium or in the gymnasium? The answer to this kind of question is often unclear and may vary from vase to vase. In this case, it seems to us that the different couples have no narrative relation to each other: they represent different phases of courtship rather than a united scene. The couple in the tondo represents the culmination of the progression; they are the furthest along in their courtship. Here the gift is not even figured. The *erastes* is a youth with sideburn, and the *eromenos* is a boy; like the right-hand *eromenos* in the frieze, he has opened his cloak and displays his genitals/buttocks. Like the middle *eromenos* on the frieze, he is making the handshake/acceptance gesture. There is nothing concrete for him to accept, so perhaps it is the relationship in general that he is accepting—or perhaps he is reaching for the *erastes*' wrist, to make a wrist-holding gesture like the one we saw in black-figure up-and-down scenes (see vase 0.4). Indeed, another element from one of the black-figure scenes we examined may possibly be present: the *erastes* is bending his knees, possibly to get into the position for intercrural intercourse (vase 0.4).

In vase 1.4, then, as sex gets nearer, the courting-gift is decentered from the action, as if it were no longer necessary to show the gift when the next part of the exchange is taking place or about to take place. This is unusual, however: on vase 1.5 (Oxford G279)—although the scene here is unusual in other ways—the exchange is portrayed in the more usual way, as one of courting-gift for sexual access. The figures' postures, costumes and props parallel those on vase 1.1 closely: a

bearded *erastes* leans down toward his *eromenos* and supports himself on his cane, while the *eromenos* stands wrapped to his chin in his cloak and hooded. The *erastes* ' gestures, on the other hand, are a variation of up-and-down or perhaps a blend between up-and-down and courting-gift gestures: with his right hand, he makes a down-gesture, while with his left, instead of making an up-gesture, he offers his *eromenos* a fighting-cock. The meaning of his gestures is in fact clearer than that of canonical up-and-down gestures. It suggests a simple *quid pro quo* : I'll give you this if you'll give me that. This exchange also figures on vase 1.6 (Mykonos 966)—a vase which takes us forward into the territory of chapter 3 . The scene is set in a mixed indoor/ outdoor athletic setting: there is a *terma* (turning-post for races), while flute-cases hanging above and to the left of the turning-post show that the scene is inside the gymnasium, which was the center not only of athletic but also musical/literary education. Together these elements indicate the entire gymnasium complex. The couple, unfortunately badly damaged, is engaged in



Figure 1.5 Kylix by the Euaichme Painter. Photo: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.



Figure 1.6 Pelike by the Triptolemos Painter. Photo: Hellenic Republic, Ministry of Culture, Mykonos Museum.

the kind of sex that occurs in Beazley's scene-type c'. The bearded *erastes* is crouching—from the remaining part of his

lower leg, we can see that his knees are bent—and holding onto the *eromenos* ' shoulder. We can also see his notably small erect penis penetrating the *eromenos* ' thighs. The *eromenos* , whose open cloak reveals, again, his buttocks, is upright and, like the *eromenos* in vase 0.4, looks over his *erastes* ' head. He is looking right at the hare that he holds out over his *erastes* in his right hand and thereby underlines its significance: not only is a hare what the *eromenos* gets in return for access to his body, the hare is the object of his interest/desire.

Again, it is not only in terms of hares that this type of exchange can be represented. On vase 1.7 (Berkeley 8.4581), strigils are the gifts offered in



Figure 1.7A Skyphos by the Lewis Painter. Side A. Photo: Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.



Figure 1.7B Skyphos by the Lewis Painter. Side B. Photo: Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

the scenes on both sides. Several elements on side A set the scene in the outside part of the gymnasium: it is at the gymnasium that a youth would rub himself down in front of other men, and the turning-post places us outside. There is a clear programmatic relation between the two sides of this vase. The youth on side A is accepting the offered gift, the youth on side B is refusing. They express their decisions, in part, by the gestures they make with their cloaks. The youth on side A is undressing, which, as it were, kills two birds with one stone: by undressing he can both use the gift and allow his *erastes* a view of (or access to) his nude body. On side B, the youth's cloak remains carefully wrapped (although not in the style discussed above). Even his wreath and short hair, as opposed to the loose-hanging hair of the youth on side A, seem to augment the contrast between the wrapped boy and the unwrapped boy. He holds a lyre in one hand, away from his suitor; this may perhaps indicate that it is a gift from another *erastes*, because it contrasts with the gesture of acceptance in

which the *eromenos* holds the gift toward his *erastes* (see vase 1.8). With his right hand, he makes a hand-on-hip gesture that seems to have the same meaning that this gesture has today: impatience. In any case, it involves bending his lower arm and his hand away from the *erastes*, rather than extending them toward him, as the gesture of handshake/ acceptance would (see vase 1.4).⁹

Whether with hares or strigils, then, the entire progress of a courtship could be portrayed through courting-gift scenes. Indeed, other aspects of courtship, such as rivalry for an *eromenos*' affection, could also be portrayed. The Greeks called this rivalry *anteros*, a term that is now generally used to designate the return of affection which the *erastes* hoped to receive from his *eromenos*, and which vase-painting also portrayed (see vases 1.13, 1.17–19).¹⁰ As we said above, it is possible that the side figures in vase 0.4 are competitors for the *eromenos* in that scene. Vase 1.8 (Ny Carlsberg 2699) presents competition for an *eromenos* more clearly. The three figures are all youths and the same height. Several things, however, make clear that the central youth is the *eromenos* and the right-hand and left-hand youths *erastai*. The left-hand youth is leaning on his cane and has a sideburn; the right-hand youth has an erection. These things are characteristic of *erastai*. The central youth has made a typical *eromenos*' gesture: he has opened his cloak and displays both his genitals and his buttocks. He is also reaching toward the bag of *astragaloi* which hangs between him and the right-hand *erastes*.¹¹ What kind of movement he is making is not clear. It looks like flight, and there are some vases on which an *eromenos* flees an *erastes* (see chapter 4), but in this case, he is reaching for a gift offered by the *erastes* away from whom he is moving. Perhaps, instead, he is dancing. As we saw in vase 0.4, a mixture of courtship and dance iconography is possible, and the right-hand youth, with his elongated leg, could be participating in a dance as well. Both flight and dancing could, however, be implied. In any case, the two *erastai* are competing for the *eromenos*. The *eromenos* has accepted a hare from one *erastes* but is tempted by a



Figure 1.8 Kylix by Makron. Photo: Ole Haupt, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.

gift from the other. Indeed perhaps one could say that the choice between the gifts is an objective correlative for the choice between the *erastai*, just as the gifts themselves are an objective correlative for courtship.

Scenes in which *erastai* compete for *eromenoi* are in fact quite common. A scene on vase 1.9 (Vatican 16560) shows something far less usual: a competition between two *eromenoi* for a gift—or, again, perhaps a competition for an *erastes* expressed through competition for a gift.¹² The two sides of the vase represent a frieze of pederastic courtship scenes yet again in an ambiguous indoor/outdoor athletic setting. There are *aryballoi* and strigils hanging on the "wall," but there is a tree on the side that we do not illustrate, which must indicate an outdoor setting. The figures that interest us are a trio in the center of the side we illustrate. A bearded *erastes* offers a hare to a youth on his left. This youth is taking off his wreath: this is the clearest example we know of the gesture of an *eromenos* giving his *erastes* his wreath, and it is clear that at least in this case he does so in exchange for a courting-gift he accepts, i.e. that for an *eromenos* to take off his wreath is a gesture of acceptance. The *erastes*' face is not turned to the

youth to whom he is giving the hare, but toward the youth to his left, who reaches out toward the hare. There is no eye contact between the *erastes* and this left-hand youth, who is looking toward the hare. What situation is portrayed here? Is the left-hand youth merely jealous? Or did he hold out so long that the *erastes* has decided to court someone else, causing him to yield belatedly? With no comparable scenes to adduce, we can only guess. Whatever the detail of the narrative situation, however, the courting-gift scene is used here to portray a competition for a gift between two potential *eromenoi*.



Figure 1.9 Kylix by the Brygos Painter. Photo: Archivio Fotografico della Direzione dei Musei dello Stato della Città del Vaticano.

Before turning to other types of courtship scenes, we illustrate one more vase with scenes of competitive courtship, vase 1.10 (Rouen 2318). The courtship scene on this vase is unfortunately badly damaged, but we illustrate the vase nonetheless, as it is interesting in several respects. In the

damaged scene, the figures are divided into two trios. On the left, a youth with his cloak up to his chin is the object of competition between two *erastai* : he faces a taller youth on his left who seems to be offering him a lyre, while a bearded man, who may possibly have a gift, such as an apple, in his left hand, touches him on his shoulder in an attempt to divert his attention. The right-hand trio seems again to present a competition for an *erastes* between two potential *eromenoi* . The *erastes* (who may be bearded or not) has his arm around a youth who looks away from him: either he is shy, or he is rejecting his *erastes* ' advances. On the other side of the *erastes* stands a naked boy, smaller and therefore presumably intended as younger, with a bag of *astragaloi* and another object, perhaps a sponge, in his hand. His role is unclear. It is hard for someone from a modern culture to accept that a small boy might be a potential *eromenos* , but whatever the age of Greek *eromenoi* (see the introduction, section 1 and chapter 2 , section 1), they are portrayed as such on many vases. Given the parallels to the trio in the other half of this panel, it seems probable that this boy is another potential *eromenos* of the *erastes* . Whether he got the *astragaloi* from him as a courting-gift is unclear. His nudity, however,



Figure 1.10A Kylix by Douris. Exterior. Musée départemental des Antiquités, Rouen, inv. 2318(D). Photography by Y. Deslandes, Musées départementaux de Seine-Maritime.



Figure 1.10B Kylix by Douris. Interior. Musée départemental des Antiquités, Rouen, inv. 2318(D). Photography by Y. Deslandes, Musées départementaux de Seine-Maritime.

seems to mark the same contrast between him and the other *eromenos* that exists between the two *eromenoi* on vase 1.7: one is available, the other not.

The other sides of this vase are also interesting for our discussion. The other outside face (which we do not illustrate) shows a scene in a gymnasium: five youths, naked as is realistic for Greek youths exercising, exercise in various ways,

under the guidance of a bearded trainer (identified by a rod which trainers often carry). In the tondo, there are two Satyrs and two clay vessels. A storage vessel we call an amphora lies on its side: its contents have clearly been poured out. One satyr crouches and reaches toward a drinking cup we call a *kantharos* —a kind of sympotic cup similar to the one on which the scene is painted.¹³ The other satyr dances over or around the *kantharos*. The tondo scene provides a good illustration of what we mean by symbol: these Satyrs symbolize wine-drinking and the wildness to which it is related (or the state in which the drinker is when he drains his cup and sees this scene). The three sides together present the most complex decorative program that we have seen so far in this book. It is noteworthy that the courtship scene contains no hints at a setting. The two other sides could be seen as representing potential settings for pederasty: the gymnasium and the symposium. But there is no need to see pederasty as central here. Instead one can see the three sides as each representing an essential component of the leisure of an Athenian citizen male: symposium, exercise in the gymnasium, and pederastic love.

SECTION 2 OTHER COURTSHIP ICONOGRAPHIES

We have already discussed three examples of one other courtship iconography—the commonest courtship iconography in black-figure—up-and-down scenes (vases 0.2–4). We commence our discussion here with a variation on the scene-type, which occurs on vase 1.11 (Petersburg 1440). There are many elements from our earlier up-and-down scenes here: the *erastes* is bearded and short-haired, the *eromenos* beardless and long-haired. The *eromenos* has massive thighs; he is almost as tall as his *erastes* and hence probably represents a youth, but he has a boy's genitalia. The *erastes* makes the up-and-down gestures, the *eromenos* responds by holding his wrist. There is a dead hare hanging behind the *erastes*. The element that we have not seen before is the cloak that hangs over both members of the couple (Koch-Harnack 1989.111–185)—though, like the *eromenois* ' cloaks that we have seen in the cloak-opened gesture, it reveals the *eromenos* ' genitals and buttocks. What does the cloak spread over the two lovers mean? As we will see in chapter 3, several literary sources describe pederastic couples making love wrapped in one of the partners' cloaks: presumably this cloak represents



Figure 1.11 Lekythos. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

the cloak in which the couple will be wrapped when they reach the next phase of courtship and thereby points to the eventual consummation of the relationship.

There is, however, a signal difference between this scene and those described in our literary sources: in the literary sources, the couples make love lying down (as is the norm in our culture as well), while in our scene, the couple, like the couples in intercrural scenes (see vases 1.6 and 3.3–4, 3.8, 4.17–18,

and 7.3), is standing up. We will discuss the implications of this standing posture in chapter 3; at this point, we want merely to point out that it may be, like the up-and-down gestures, one of the markedly non-naturalistic elements in vase iconography.

We will also discuss the implications of the up-and-down gestures in chapter 3. However, at this point, we would like to present some further evidence that these gestures are not a single, naturalistically represented gesture of courtship. We say this for many reasons. One of them is that the two gestures appear separately in literature and art, the down-gesture, for instance, at Aristophanes' *Birds* 137–142, where the character Euelpides dreams of a city where he would be encouraged to fondle the testicles of his friends' sons.

We have already illustrated one "down" scene (as it were) on vase 1.5; we now illustrate two more. These scenes are red-figure, while the great majority of up-and-down scenes are black-figure. This might be thought to diminish the usefulness of the parallel, but we would argue that it does not. Red-figure is often slightly more naturalistic than black-figure, and it is not implausible that red-figure might present a naturalistic version of something that black-figure portrays in a more heavily manipulated way.

Vase 1.12 (Vatican 17888) is a simple version: it represents the down-gesture without a setting—and without a gift. The bearded *erastes* (whose open cloak displays his genitals but *not* his buttocks) leans on his cane and makes the down-gesture toward a youth/boy who responds by reaching out toward him: although he does not provide what the *erastes*' gesture requests, he makes a gesture of acceptance.

Vase 1.13 (Oxford 1967.304) is more complex: although red-figure, it combines all three of Beazley's scene-types, just as vase 0.4 does. The *erastes* makes what might be called a "successful" down-gesture, with his fingers beneath or around his *eromenos*' scrotum (type a'); the *eromenos* holds a bag of *astragaloï* he has received as a courting-gift (type b'); and although the *erastes* seems to be sitting, in fact he has no chair, so instead his bent knees indicate preparation for intercourse (type c'). Both members of the couple have extraordinarily developed chest muscles, and the scene is set in the gymnasium by an unusually clearly depicted rub-down kit: strigil, *aryballos*, and sponge can be distinguished, as can the hook and the cord from which the kit hangs. There are

several things worth noting about this scene. First, the exchange of a gift for sexual contact is almost as clear as it is in vase 1.6: the *eromenos* holds his bag of *astragaloi* out behind himself as if he were swinging it triumphantly. Second, the *erastes* here has a quite realistically portrayed erect penis; conversely, this emphasizes the non-erectness of the *eromenos* ' penis, which under the circumstances seems unrealistic (another problem which will be further discussed in chapter 2, section 1). Finally, the *eromenos* has his arm around his *erastes* ' neck in a gesture that goes beyond acceptance to affection. Up to now, we have pointed out several gestures by which an *eromenos* can indicate acceptance. However, we have not until now seen the evident portrayal of *anteros* , in the other sense—the return of affection—which is characteristic of the iconographies described in the rest of this



Figure 1.12 Neck-amphora by the Harrow Painter. Photo: Archivio Fotografico della Direzione dei Musei dello Stato della Città del Vaticano.

section and seems to have constituted a trend in late black-figure and in red-figure.

Like the up-and-down scene, scenes with a down-gesture appear with and without courting-gifts. Below we illustrate two gift-less courtship iconographies that, while less common than the courting-gift and up-and-down scenes, each appear several times, the first in red-figure alone, and the second in late black-figure and in early/middle red-figure.¹⁴

Before turning to them, however, we illustrate one scene that is, to our knowledge, exceptional: vase 1.14 (London E 159) shows a scene in which the courtship consists only of eye contact—or of what today we call "cruising." Three youths are filling jars of water in a well-house. The youths are all naked and wreathed. This is one of the situations in which we can see that the nudity of men in vase-painting is partly fictional: as we said above (see



Figure 1.13 Kylix by the Brygos Painter. Photo: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

vase 0.2), Athenian men exercised naked, but they did not walk through the city naked. Between the leftmost and the middle youth, a bearded *erastes*, also wreathed, leans on his cane and stares straight into the eyes of the middle youth. This youth, who has thighs and buttocks far bigger than his companions', has his torso turned frontwards, so that his massive chest is displayed. He returns the stare, in what might be called a display of *anteros*. Interestingly, although this scene includes several novel elements, it is also a subtle variation on a traditional scene, like the courtship scene on vase 0.4, in which there is a courting couple in the middle of the scene and subordinate figures on the sides. In this variation, the side figures are firmly anchored in the represented "narrative"; indeed one could say that this is another example of red-figure's tendency to portray scenes in a more naturalistic—or at least natural-seeming—way than black-figure. On the vase's shoulder, there is a symposium scene, where a bearded man like the *erastes* on the vase's body stares at a youth playing the lyre on a neighboring couch. The parallels between the two scenes are clear; their similarity could lead one to wonder if there is a connection between the scenes. In fact, the scene of youths at the well is somewhat mysterious. Most scenes of water-drawing involve (clothed) women, not youths. Does the symposium somehow explain the youths' pre



Figure 1.14 Hydria by Phintias. Photo: © Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

sence at the well? The mixing of wine with water was a central event at the symposium and a theme of sympotic culture. Might the youths be filling jugs of water for that purpose? The two other kinds of courtship scenes that we will illustrate are symposium scenes and kiss scenes. In fact, just as many pederastic scenes are set at a symposium (see vase 0.6), many sympotic scenes may have pederastic implications, whether these are evident to us or not: this may, in particular, be true of scenes like the one on the shoulder of vase 1.14, in which the

seating pattern is adult/youth/adult/youth and hence potentially *erastes/eromenos* /etc. There are many such scenes from the late fifth century: we illustrate as vase 4.21 one in which the god Eros makes the scene's pederastic import particularly clear. In this chapter, however, we illustrate only scenes in which the lovers' gestures confirm the pederastic nature of the scene. On vase 1.15 (Villa

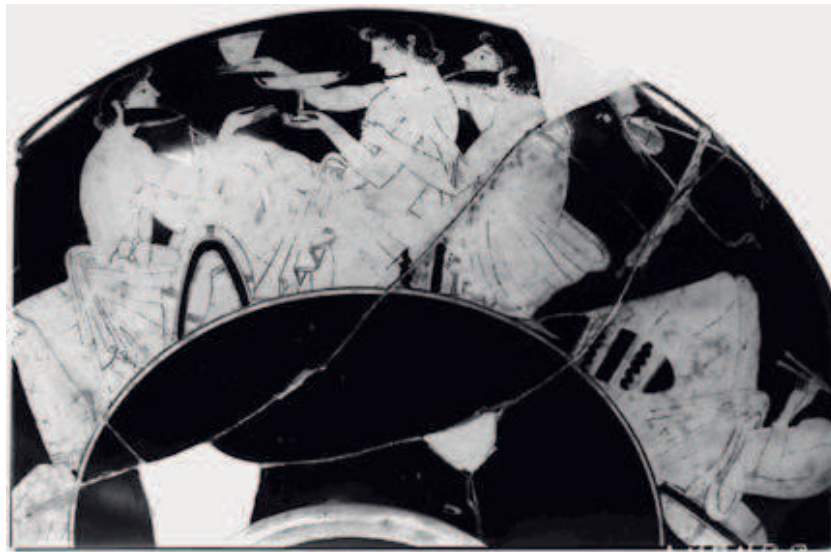


Figure 1.15 Kylix by the Ambrosios Painter. Photo: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Lazio, Sezione Etruria Meridionale.

Giulia 50458), a bearded man is reclining (or "seated," as we would say of a participant in a party) on the same couch with a youth. Both of them have their cloaks wrapped around their legs, leaving their torsos naked: this, as we will see, is typical of the men in such scenes. The adult has placed his arms around the youth's upper body from behind. The youth holds his own kylix in his left hand and hands a deeper drinking vessel that we call a skyphos to the bearded man on the next couch. This man is making a conversational gesture with his left hand, and

the youth and he may be making eye contact. Indeed, it is possible that this is yet another scene of competition for an *eromenos* : one *erastes* converses with him, while the other attempts to get his attention physically, as also occurred on vase 1.10. On vase 1.16 (Bologna 436), we see, instead, two youths reclining together at the symposium, dressed in the same way as the figures on vase 1.15. The upper youth, instead of throwing his arms around his *eromenos* , has thrown his leg around him—a more suggestive gesture. He is also touching or stroking the lower youth's hair with his left hand. With his other hand, he is playing the party game called *kottabos* , a sympotic game which consisted of flinging the lees of wine at a target and which was often used as a occasion for toasting a loved one. It is hard to imagine that the wish he is making does not involve the youth below him.



Figure 1.16 Kylix by the Epidromos Painter. Photo: Archivio del Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna.

The scene on vase 1.17 (Boston 08.292) too is set in or connected to the symposium. The connection is not expressed as directly as it is on vases 1.15 and 1.16, however. Instead, the sympotic context is symbolized by vines, with over-size grape clusters, which surround the couples portrayed on both sides of the vase. This is the kind of deep cup the youth on vase 1.15 hands to the man in front of him, a skyphos, decorated in black-figure (with a white background). It presents the first of our kiss scenes, or on the better-preserved side, which we illustrate, a scene of preparations for a kiss. It also presents a clear depiction of what we call *anteros*, the *eromenos* returning the *erastes*' affection. The *erastes* makes a (successful) down-gesture with his right hand but, instead of making an up-gesture, he places his right hand behind his *eromenos*' neck, as if to draw him up for a kiss. The up-gesture is made instead by the *eromenos*, who is stroking his *erastes*' beard with his right hand. We do not illustrate the other side, which is poorly preserved, but it presents a similar scene. The *erastes* makes the same gestures, and his *eromenos* jumps up into his arms, again, as if for a kiss—and in sharp contrast to the many vases where the *erastes* crouches down for intercourse. The simple word *kalos*, unusually noticeable in reproduction, is above each couple. Vases 1.18 and 1.19 show two other kiss scenes in which the *eromenos*' *anteros* is clearly displayed. In the tondo of vase 1.18 (Paris G 278 and Florence



Figure 1.17 Skyphos. Gift of E. P. and Fiske Warren. Photograph © 2007 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 1.18 Kylix by the Briseis Painter. Photo RMN © Musée du Louvre—Les frères Chuzeville.

Z B 27), the scene is indoors, as indicated by a column, but instead of gymnasium apparatus or sympotic couches, the only other background detail is a chair, which in other iconographies indicates a domestic setting. There is also no athletic nudity or semi-dress in this scene: both figures are cloaked to their ankles, and the *erastes* is the only figure in all of our scenes to wear both an undergarment and an outer garment. Aside from their clothing, there are several other correspondences between the portrayal of the two figures: for instance, unlike

most pederastic couples, they have similar hair-styles involving fringe-like bangs. There is a more remarkable correspondence between their gestures. They do not reach out for their lovers with their left arms: the *erastes* ' left arm is propped on his cane, while the *eromenos* ' is visible to us inside his cloak. Each of them, instead, reaches out with his right arm to hold his lover by the head. Indeed, in a sense, they complete each other's gesture: we see the *erastes* ' arm with his hand, up to mid-finger, on the *eromenos* ' hair, and we see the other side of the gesture, as it were, in the *eromenos* ' fingers coming over the top of the *erastes* ' head.¹⁵

In the scene in the tondo of vase 1.19 (Malibu 85.AE.25), on the other hand, the *eromenos* seems to be initiating the kiss: he is seated, half-dressed



Figure 1.19 Kylix by the Carpenter Painter. Photo: © The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California.

like a symposiast (although the scenes on the vase's outer sides again suggest an athletic context), and is drawing his bearded *erastes* ' mouth toward his with both of his arms behind the *erastes* ' head. What is the *erastes* ' reaction to his *eromenos* ' "forwardness"? Some have found the *erastes* ' facial expression in this scene grim and unerotic (von Bothmer 1986.6–9). Facial expression in vase-painting is, however, frequently uninterpretable, and the *erastes* is clearly an active participant here as well. He is cradling the *eromenos* ' head with one hand and bending down towards him, although, as in vase 1.17, something like the opposite of intercrural intercourse is portrayed: his knees are bent, but his bent knees do not put him in the position for intercourse.

Indeed, it is noteworthy that our study of pederastic courtship scenes has taken us further away from, rather than closer to, scenes of consummation. Given the rarity of explicit references to consummation in courtship scenes—and the great preponderance, mentioned at the start of this section, of courtship over consummation scenes—we will spend another chapter on courtship before turning to consummation. Now that we have shown what courtship (in vase-painting) consisted of, we will consider the ideals that courtship iconographies reflect. In this way, when we finally arrive at scenes of intercourse, we will be able to see them in the context of the dominant pederastic iconographies.

2

IDEALS/IDEALIZATION

Andrew Lear

As was discussed in the introduction (section 1), there is a persistent, if ambiguous, tradition in Greek literature of idealizing pederasty and associating it with an inter-related set of social ideals. In this section we will examine the analogous idealization implied by courtship scenes on vases and consider the convergences and divergences between it and that in our other sources. The section will be divided into two subsections. The first will consider the portrayal of the participants, the second the association between pederasty and other idealized activities. The idealizing implications of the erotic activities in courtship scenes will be considered in chapter 3 , in the context of scenes of consummation.

SECTION 1 IDEALIZATION THROUGH THE PORTRAYAL OF *ERASTAI* AND *EROMENOI*

This section concerns the elements of iconography which we defined in the introduction (section 2, pp. 27–28) as costume and mask. The three main elements of the portrayal of the *erastes* and *eromenos* that connect them to ideals like those discussed above are: their muscularity, their genitalia (both in terms of size and erection/non-erection), and the ages indicated by their beards/ beardlessness, relative heights, and so on.

We have already pointed out the extreme muscularity that is typical of our lovers, particularly in black-figure. The *eromenos* is portrayed as strikingly muscular in four of the five black-figure vases illustrated so far (vases 0.2–4, 1.11). In vases 0.2 and 0.3, the *erastes* is also so portrayed, as are the side figures in vase 0.4, who, as noted above, may be other *erastai*.

In red-figure, the muscularity of the figures is often less marked. There are several explanations for this. One is that the figures, in particular the *erastes*, appear nude less often. Another is the greater degree of naturalism in early/ middle red-figure, mentioned in the discussion of vases 1.12 and 1.14. Nonetheless, the *erastes* in red-figure, when he does appear nude, is often extremely muscular (see vases 1.12 and 1.13), and the *eromenos* is often portrayed as what we would call "fit," if in general more realistically so than in black-figure (see in particular vases 1.7 and 1.19, and vase 1.14 for musculature more like that in black-figure).

The connection that this makes between pederasty and the athleticism so prized in Greek culture is obvious. Section 2 will consider other ways in which vase-painting connects the two.

Here we turn our attention instead to the genitalia of our figures; or rather, we turn our attention back to them, as they are the first iconographic element that we considered in the introduction (section 2, pp. 24–25). The textual sources mentioned above make clear that the size of male genitalia was a preoccupation of Greek culture. They also make clear that the preoccupation was not exclusively aesthetic: the Greeks associated small male genitalia with self-restraint and modesty, virtues important for a man and even more important for a youth.

That the size of genitalia was also a preoccupation of vase-painters can be deduced from the relations between the genitalia of the figures in scenes with more than one nude figure: in such scenes, vase-painters are often careful to give each figure age or role-appropriate genitalia. For instance, on vase 2.16, the three naked youths all have roughly equivalent genitalia of a larger size, each with what seems to be a smidgeon of pubic hair, while the three naked boys all have roughly equivalent genitalia of a smaller size.

In general, as we pointed out, our figures' genitalia are portrayed as unrealistically small. This is less consistently true of *erastai* than of *eromenoi*. For instance, while the *erastes* in vase 1.12 has tiny genitalia, the *erastes* in vase 1.13 has quite large ones: his erect penis comes up to the bottom of his ribcage. Indeed, when an *erastes* has an erection, it is usually portrayed either realistically or as somewhat over-size (see vases 1.8 and 2.11). The genitalia of *eromenoi*, on the other hand, are almost always portrayed as small. As pointed out in the introduction (section 2, p. 24), many *eromenoi* have the physiques of adolescents or young adults and the genitalia of children (see vases 0.2 and 1.14). A particularly good example of this phenomenon is on vase 2.18: the youth here already has the sideburn that serves as a marker of sexual maturity, but he has a penis like the young boy's on vase 1.17.

Furthermore, as noted in the introduction, there is a striking contrast between the genitalia of our figures in general and those of figures in other erotic scene-types. Indeed, in scenes where both pederastic and heterosexual sex takes place, the figures engaged in pederastic sex are often portrayed with smaller genitalia. For instance, on vase 3.4, it seems, from the way it tapers, that we can see the whole of the pederastic *erastes*' penis. If so, it is only as long in its entirety as the visible section of the right-hand man's penis; given that in this latter case, no taper is visible, the man copulating with the woman seems to have a much longer penis. The contrast, however, is greater with the Satyrs on vase 3.11 or the figures in heterosexual orgy scenes (see vase 3.10),¹ who generally have Satyr-size genitalia.

On the whole, then, figures in pederastic scenes have small genitalia: either smaller than seems realistic or, even when realistically portrayed or over-size, smaller than those of the figures in other erotic scene-types. Given the context of the

literary citations on this topic, this suggests an association between pederasty and the virtues of self-restraint and modesty. Another aspect of the portrayal of genitalia has similar implications: their state of erection or non-erection. *Erastai* frequently have erections in scenes of intercrural intercourse (see vases 1.6, 2.1, 3.3–4). However, many *erastai* appear in highly sexual scenes without erections (see vases 0.2–4, 1.12, 1.17 and 3.6). It has been suggested that *erastai* without erections are meant to be in a less advanced state of excitement. This is possible, but in many of these scenes, other elements, such as the dancing side-figures in vase 0.4, point to a high level of excitement. It seems that another explanation is necessary. Again, the textual tradition gives us an interpretative key through its emphasis on self-control and moderation. This would suggest that *erastai* are portrayed without erections because minimizing their degree of physical excitement brings them closer to such ideals.

The state of our *eromenoi* 's genitalia is even less explicable in realistic terms. *Eromenoi* have erections on only two Attic vases of which we know. One is vase 2.1 (London W 39).² On the side that we illustrate, in the left-hand couple, a bearded *erastes* makes a gesture to stop a beardless *eromenos* walking away from him and carrying a courting-gift. The central couple is engaging in intercrural intercourse. To their right, there is a bearded man dancing (and/or caressing his own penis), and at far right, a couple of bearded *erastes*, with erection, and beardless *eromenos* engaging in courtship. The other side presents the same arrangement of figures, with some small variations. The element that makes the vase unusual is, however, the same on both sides. In the couple engaging in intercourse, not only is the *erastes* ' penis erect, but so is the *eromenos* ', although markedly smaller: on our side, it sticks straight out, and on the other side, while even smaller, it goes up at an angle.

However, the existence of these scenes only serves to underline the fact that in all of the other up-and-down and intercrural intercourse scenes, the *eromenoi* do not have erections.³ Clearly, this is not a realistic portrayal of adolescent male genitalia, which would probably (as Dover points out, 1989.96) be erect in a real equivalent of many of the less erotic scenes, let alone scenes involving physical contact.

Several explanations are possible here. It is noteworthy that in

scenes of komastic dancing (see vases 3.14 and 3.15), the men being anally penetrated are portrayed without erections. This might point to a tendency on the part of Greek painters to portray only one member of a couple involved in sex as having an erection (and therefore the "male," as it were). The *eromenoi*'s lack of erections could also be a corollary of the tendency to portray them, whether they are otherwise portrayed as youths or boys, with boys' genitalia.



Figure 2.1 Amphora by the Painter of Berlin 1686. Photo: © Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

Neither of these explanations is totally convincing, however. The first does not work, because in many couples, as a result of the tendency to portray *erastai* without erections, neither figure has one (see vases 0.2–4, 1.17); the second fails because *eromenoi* also lack erections even when they are portrayed with youth-size genitalia, as in vase 0.4—not to mention the fact that in actuality boys too get erections. We seem to need a different explanation, and here, again, our textual evidence provides a likely one. Our texts are unanimous in insisting that *eromenoi* do not (or should not) have sexual feelings for their *erastai* (see introduction, [section 1](#)). They may feel gratitude, affection, admiration; they may even return the *erastes*' love with what we call, with reservations, *anteros* (see discussion of vases 1.17–19). But they do not feel lust. Similarly, in vase-painting, *eromenoi* are portrayed as so uninterested in sex with their *erastai* that they do not have erections even when sexually stimulated.

The portrayal of our lovers' genitalia, then, suggests that the representation of pederasty in vase-painting reflects an idealizing view of pederasty very like that in our literary/historical sources. The portrayal of the lovers' ages in vase-painting is harder to interpret or correlate precisely with non-visual sources.

In the vases from the first few decades of pederastic vase-painting, in the mid-6th century, the couples in courtship iconographies consist of adult *erastai*, clearly marked by their beards, and beardless *eromenoi*. As noted above, however, this is no longer always true in red-figure. Youth/boy and youth/youth couples already appear on the earliest red-figure vases (see vases 2.17 and 3.18). Indeed, such couples also appear in black-figure by the end of the sixth century (see vase 3.8). Adult and youth *erastai* coexist until the mid-fifth century, when there is a trend toward the exclusive portrayal of *erastai* as youths and toward the elimination of age-difference between *erastai* and *eromenoi* (see vases 2.14, 4.21, 6.3, and Hubbard 2002. 277–281). ⁴

The shift in representation is relatively clear: the questions come in trying to interpret it. Does it represent a shift in social reality? As was discussed in the introduction ([section 1](#)), there is also some evidence in our textual sources for a shift toward the approval of youth-boy and youth-youth love. However, this evidence is tentative, and the dates suggested for the shift by the two bodies of evidence do not correspond. It is,

furthermore, possible that the change is merely an example of what Beazley (1950.321) called "youthening," that is, the portrayal, typical of Greek art, of figures as younger than they were in reality (mythic or historical) or earlier art. Indeed, it has been suggested that painters come to prefer representing bearded men as youths or boys so that they could be as sexually attractive as their *eromenoi* to the purchaser/user/viewer (Stewart 1997.80). We are doubtful of this theory: it would fit poorly with the increasing tendency, in the same period, to portray the *erastes* as clothed. Instead, we would like to suggest another possible interpretation: that the later preference for youth/youth couples shows a decreased emphasis on the pedagogical nature of pederastic relations.⁵

Yet this is by no means certain. Indeed, our suggestion would fit particularly badly with the implications of the textual sources: perhaps the most striking sources for a pedagogical view of pederasty, the speeches of Phaedrus and Pausanias in Plato's *Symposium* (see above), date from about 70 years *after* the completion of this iconographical change.

Thus we do not wish to press this issue. Instead, we would like to point out that, viewed more broadly, there are strong parallels between the conventions for the ages of *erastai* and *eromenoi* in visual and textual sources. Our textual sources universally condemn or ridicule erotic relations between adult males and those in which a boy or youth takes sexual initiative with a man. Similarly, vase-painting portrays such relations only as comic and/or ugly (see vases 3.14–15).

Once more, however—as we did in discussing *eromenoi* 's non-erect penises—we will make our point by illustrating the most plausible exceptions to this rule. We hope that this method of demonstrating points is not overly confusing for the reader. It is a method that grows out of the nature of vase iconography, in which, as has often been said, there is an exception to every rule—and if you cannot find the exception, then the vase on which it appears merely hasn't been published (or excavated) yet. Nor is this surprising. There are tens of thousands of figured Athenian vases extant in the world today, not to speak of how many there must have been in ancient times. They were made over a period of centuries by hundreds of different artists, possibly of widely differing class and regional provenance, and it seems that they were made for a very varied market, consisting of Greeks and non-Greeks

and of people of different social classes.⁶ The sexual conventions of Greek society, furthermore, were not all rigid enough to be called "rules." They were not, among other things, reinforced, as most of our culture's own were until recently, by religious sanction. If pederasty was, furthermore, as most scholars believe, largely an elite practice,⁷ and vase-painters were—again, as most scholars believe—generally lower-class,⁸ vase-painters may not always have correctly understood the "rules"—and if a vase-painter's market was non-Athenian or non-Greek, his customers may also not have understood them, or cared whether they were followed.

Perhaps some of these factors may help to explain the two vases with unconventional male–male pairs that we illustrate. These two vases (which even the inexperienced observer will probably notice are both in the same distinctive style) are by a painter we call the Affecter.⁹

Vase 2.2 (New York 18.145.15) is the clearer case of role-reversal. It is an up-and-down scene, "set," like vase 1.17, at the symposium by vines, which in this case grow out of a deep cup (of a type called a *kantharos*) held by the god Dionysus. In the courting couple on Dionysus' right, the conventional age roles have been reversed: a youth, wearing the hairstyle of the *eromenos* on vase 0.2, makes the up-and-down gestures toward a bearded man, who makes an up-gesture in return with his right hand but shields his genitals with his left (see note 36, p. 237). The scene is repeated almost identically on the other side of the vase. What is happening on vase 2.3 (London B 153) is less certain. There are two male–male pairs on this vase that interest us; both are visible in our illustration. Each pair consists of two bearded figures. In the left-hand, full-size pair, both figures make up-gestures. The left-hand figure makes a gesture with his other hand that might be a down-gesture, and the right-hand figure—again, with an *eromenos* ' hairstyle—holds a wreath in his hand, which again could be an *eromenos* ' gesture of acceptance (see vase 1.9). The right-hand, half-size pair also make gestures derived from courtship iconography. The left-hand figure offers the right-hand figure a hare, while making something related to an up-gesture. The right-hand figure's gestures also resemble up-and-down gestures, and he holds *halteres* (jumping-weights)



Figure 2.2 Amphora by the Affecter. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1918 (18.145.15). Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

possibly also a gift, in his up-hand. But are these courting couples? All four figures' gestures resemble up-and-down gestures, but none of them clearly aim at the opposite figure's genitals—surely a *sine qua non* for down-gestures. In short, the situation is mysterious: most scholars assume that these are couples (for instance Hupperts 1988.261), but Shapiro (2000.20–21) argues that they are instead adult men talking, in the Mediterranean fashion, "with their hands."

Thus in one case (vase 2.2), the Affecter portrays couples that

contravene the general Greek convention for the ages of *erastai* and *eromenoi* ; in another (vase 2.3), he portrays pairs of males of ages inappropriate to *erastai* and *eromenoi* with elements closely derived from pederastic iconography. And he does not mark the couples or pairs portrayed as comic or ugly (as the



Figure 2.3 Amphora by the Affector. Photo: © Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

age-reversed couples in such vases as 3.14 and 3.15 are). What

does all of this mean? One might ask if the Affecter's work represents a reality ignored by other vase-painters (see Hupperts 1988). Or does he intend to question or criticize the accepted norms of pederasty or of its representation? And in either case, how did the adult males who purchased/used his vases react to them?

Unfortunately, there are no certain answers to these questions. A few considerations may, however, at least place some limits around the mystery that this presents. First of all, it should be pointed out that, even in the exception-filled world of Greek vases, the Affecter's work is consistently and strikingly unique, both aesthetically and iconographically. It is not only his use of pederastic motifs that is unusual, but his work in general. It is also generally hard to interpret: indeed Mommsen, who produced the main catalogue of his work, says of him (1975:56) that "the composition of many scenes is determined by no comprehensible content."

Thus it is possible (to put the point bluntly) that his revision of age conventions had no meaning: he may have used motifs from pederastic scenes for aesthetic rather than symbolic reasons. It is also possible that some of the answers have to do with his markets. We are often asked if we went to Greece to do research for this book. Yet if the reader will consider the list of vases at the back of the book, s/he will see that only a very few are in Greek museums. This is because most well-preserved vases now extant did not come from Greek archaeological sites. Instead, they came from Italy: either from Greek cities in Sicily or from the territory of the Etruscans in central Italy. The people in these places imported large quantities of Greek vases; they also built large tombs which preserved burial goods better than tombs in Greece itself, and they placed vases in those tombs. Thus the large collections of Greek vases today are in Italy or in countries (Germany, France, the U.K., U.S., and so on) where large quantities of material from Italy are found in the museums.

Thus a large percentage of the extant work of many artists (and particularly the makers of large, better-quality vases) come from Etruscan tombs. The question of whether vase-painting generally or ever reflects Etruscan tastes is a complex one. There is much evidence that most vase-painters ignored their Etruscan customers' tastes: *kalos* -inscriptions—inscriptions in Greek of the names of local Athenian beauties—are an example

of an iconographical element clearly designed for Greek consumption.¹⁰ Yet a few scenes seem to show Etruscan influence, and it is possible that certain vase-painters "specialized" in painting for Etruscans.¹¹ Many scholars have considered the Affecter a case in point.¹²

If so, might this explain the unusual male–male pairings on his vases? Our knowledge of Etruscan homosexual relations is poor, and we have no reason to think that Etruscans in particular would have wanted scenes of youths courting men. The homoerotic scenes in the wall-paintings in Etruscan tombs,¹³ however, do not follow the conventions of Athenian pederastic iconography, and Etruscan customers would certainly not have insisted on the conventions of Athenian courtship scenes. Thus it is possible that his Etruscan markets explain the Affecter's loose relation to convention.

All of this, however, is speculation. The main point of the Affecter's paintings for us must be, like that of the *eromenoi* 's erections in vase 2.1, a negative one. The exception of the Affecter's scenes underlines more than anything the near unanimous conventionality of all other Athenian vase-painting on the matter of the age of *erastai* and *eromenoi*. Except in scenes of comic and/or ugly figures/relations—and again, excepting the Affecter—*eromenoi* are either boys or youths, and *erastai* either youths or bearded men.¹⁴

Thus through the elements of costume and mask, the lovers in pederastic scenes are portrayed as athletic, modest, and self-restrained, and adhering, in their pederastic relations, to basic Greek conventions about age-roles: to a set of ideals closely related to those that we find associated with pederasty in our textual sources.

SECTION 2 IDEALIZATION THROUGH ASSOCIATION

Our textual sources stress above all, in their prescriptions for pederastic relations, a connection between pederasty and pedagogy (see introduction, section 1): the *erastes* is like a father or a teacher for the *eromenos*. Vases, again, are more direct in their representation of sex than most literary genres, and this might lead the modern viewer to consider their implications contrary to these ideals. Indeed, it might seem surprising that the most influential theory about pederastic iconography holds that it portrays pederasty, symbolically, as pedagogical. In this section, we will, however, defend that theory, or rather—while disagreeing with it in some important ways—we will nonetheless present a similar view: that vase-painting associates pederasty with activities which the Greeks considered admirable in men and educative for boys. It portrays *erastai* as serving as role models for these activities and as praising and/or fostering these activities in their *eromenoi*. It therefore portrays pederasty as an integral part of the mode by which men of the elite pass on admired activities and attitudes to boys of the elite.

The "pedagogy theory," as presented by its main proponent, Koch-Harnack, focuses on the symbolism of courtship scenes.¹⁵ In particular, it centers on one of the most common of courting-gifts, the hare, and on its connection to hunting. Koch-Harnack argues that by giving his *eromenos* a hare, the adult *erastes* encourages him to develop hunting skills and thereby transmits his skill as a hunter: thus the courting-gift scene portrays pederastic courtship as a form of pedagogy.

There are several vases that would seem to support this argument. Vase 2.4 (Boston 08.291) is a particularly good example (although Koch-Harnack does not cite it). This is an *aryballos*, i.e. a clay imitation of the oil-flasks we see in gymnasium scenes, probably made as a funeral offering; there are three figured registers on it. In the top register, there is a typical courtship scene, mixing Beazley's types a' and b'. A bearded *erastes*, accompanied by his dog, makes the up-and-down gestures toward an *eromenos* with highly developed buttocks and thighs. There is a line of competitor *erastai* (or gift-bearers/ symbols of courtship) behind the couple on either side. They bring a hare, a hen, a

fighting-cock, a ball, two javelins, and an *aryballos*. The hare and the fighting-cock, the commonest gifts, have pride of place in that they are closest to the couple

In the register below the courtship scene, youths ride horses. In the lowest register, there is a cockfight, and two hounds chase a hare which is being hit by a *lagobolon* (throw-stick), thrown by an unseen hunter. Thus, the same animals given as gifts in the top register reappear in the lower register, which suggests that the two scenes complement each other. What is the connection? Any explanation must take account of both animals' appearance in the lower scenes, and we suggest the simplest such explanation: the lower register tells us what the gifts in the upper register are for. The hare in particular is for the young man to hunt. Taken in conjunction with the hunting-dog which identifies the *erastes* as a hunter, this gives us a key to interpret the vase's decorative program: the hunter gives the *eromenos* a hare so that the *eromenos* will learn to be a hunter like himself.¹⁶

This same connection, furthermore, can be seen in vase 1.6. Although nothing that remains in the vase's fragments identifies the *erastes* as a hunter, the dog that the *eromenos* holds on a leash points clearly to the use which he will make of the hare he has received (and again, the dog too may be a courting-gift).

There are, however, problems with the pedagogy theory. First of all, there are very few scenes in which, as on vase 2.4, all three parts of the equation appear together: the *erastes*' identity as hunter, the gift of a hare, and the *eromenos*' hunting. Vase 2.4 is from very early in the production of pederastic scenes, and one might argue that its decorative program reflects the understanding of an earlier period that was lost or subsumed later on, but the connection is not made on the other vases of this early period either.

Instead, many vases represent a pederastic couple with hunting-dogs and hares but with no suggestion of the connections that the theory suggests. For instance, on vase 2.5 (Paris F 85 bis), we see a couple engaged in intercrural intercourse. The youth, with long hair, is upright, and his *erastes* bends down and embraces him. The section with their genitalia is missing. However, for our purposes what matters is that behind the *eromenos*, there is a barking dog, and behind the *erastes* a hare that seems to be running. Thus this sex-act

takes place surrounded, metaphorically if not actually, by the hunt. There is, however, no courting-gift in the scene, nor does anything mark the *erastes* in particular as a hunter.¹⁷ This kind of more general association between pederasty and hunting is far more common among our early vases than the complex decorative program of vase 2.4.

Even if, however, one accepts the arguments in favor of hares' pedagogical role, they would only hold for gifts of game animals (and perhaps for dogs, if these are gifts). It is, on the other hand, difficult to apply this argument to other gifts. Fighting-cocks, as noted above, are the commonest gift on extant vases, and these of course have no connection to the hunt. Koch-Harnack (following Hoffmann 1974) argues that fighting-cocks are given for similar, pedagogical reasons: because their fights are lessons in the courage associated with hunters and warriors. In support of this theory, she adduces another vase from the Boston museum, vase 2.6 (Boston 63.4), on which five pairs of crouching figures hold fighting-cocks in preparation



Figure 2.4A Lekythos by the painter of Boston 08.291. Courtship in upper register. Gift of E. P. and Fiske Warren. Photograph © 2007 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

for cockfights. Koch-Harnack points out that the couples are all composed of a bearded figure and a beardless figure, and that the hare between the two leftmost figures in our illustration, as it has no role in the activity represented, is probably present as a synecdoche for pederastic courtship. Thus she argues that in this scene we see a row of pederastic couples staging cockfights.¹⁸

Koch-Harnack's view of these male–male pairs as pederastic couples seems to us unexceptionable. The idea, however, that cockfighting is pedagogical seems to us far less certain. Among other things, there is no Greek text which calls cockfighting educative, in contrast to the considerable tradition of texts which calls hunting so (see, for instance Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 1.6.28–41 and *On Hunting* 12.6, Isocrates *Areopagiticus* 45, and Lucian *Anacharsis* 24). There



Figure 2.4B Lekythos by the Painter of Boston 08.291. Hunt in lower register. Gift of E. P. and Fiske Warren. Photograph © 2007 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

are, moreover, no vases on which cocks appear as clearly pedagogical, in the way in which hares do on vases 2.4 and 1.6. It is, furthermore, not easy to distinguish educative activities from activities that boys consider fun or educative gifts from popular toys. Cockfights, while they might possibly teach a boy courage, are also an amusement.

Indeed, this last point may be made about hunting as well. While there are indeed many literary sources that stress the

importance of hunting in boys' education, there are also many that portray hunting as the preferred activity of young men or even as the object of exaggerated enthusiasm.¹⁹ Thus an *erastes* might choose a gift connected to hunting for several reasons: one of them might merely be to please his *eromenos*. Indeed, much as the scene



Figure 2.5 Fragmentary kylix. Photo RMN © Musée du Louvre—Les frères Chuzeville.



Figure 2.6 Band-kylix by the Painter of Louvre F 51. John Wheelock Elliot Fund. Photograph © 2007 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

on 2.4, or the example of the hare in general, might tend to set other gifts in a pedagogical light, if we concentrate on the other gifts instead, they might tend to cast doubt on the hare's pedagogical role.

This is even more evident with non-animal gifts. Some of these, like the hare, could have educative implications. A few scenes represent gifts whose pedagogical significance needs little cross-cultural explanation. One of the exterior scenes on vase 2.7 (Tarquinia 701) is an example. Here the *eromenos* is a seated boy, wrapped to the chin in his cloak and half-hooded; he is surrounded by two *erastai*, a youth, leaning on his cane and holding onto the boy's chair from behind, and a bearded man in front of him, also leaning on his cane, who holds out a gift to him: an open writing-tablet. Both external scenes on vase 2.8 (Amsterdam 3460) also provide examples. In the style of later courtship scenes (see [chapter 6](#)), both *eromenos* and *erastai* in these scenes are youths, with no distinction in height; on side A, the *eromenos* even has a cane, like his *erastai*. Nonetheless, these are clearly competitive courting-gift scenes. On side A, one of the two *erastai* offers the *eromenos* flute-cases—or presumably, flutes; the *eromenos* on side B, which we illustrate, has already accepted his gift, which has

even more obvious pedagogical use. It is a box with round holes in it, of a kind frequently seen in schoolroom scenes, that served to store papyrus rolls; i.e. it is the ancient Greek equivalent of a book-case. Gifts of lyres (see vases 1.10 and 2.10) are also potentially pedagogical: the recitation of epic poetry, accompanied by the reciter himself on the lyre, was central to Greek education. An argument might also be made that the strigil, which we saw as a gift on vase 1.7, had pedagogical connections, as it was useful for exercise. However, the same argument applies to these gifts as does to game animals. Boys in ancient Athens only had certain kinds of toys, many of them educative.



Figure 2.7 Kylix by the Cage Painter. Photo: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Lazio, Sezione Etruria Meridionale.

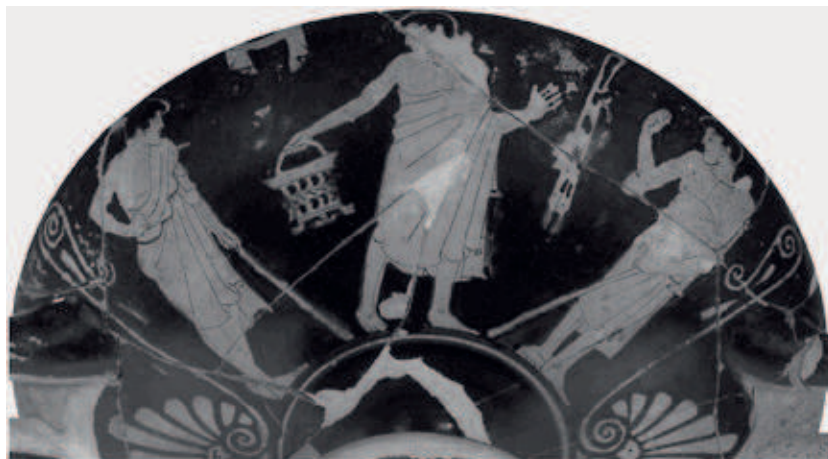


Figure 2.8 Kylix by the Splanchnopt Painter. Photo: Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam.

It is not clear whether the lyre or the strigil appear in courtship scenes as educational implements any more than they do as toys that a boy would favor.

Other common gifts, moreover, have no pedagogical value. *Astragaloi* (see vases 1.8, 1.13, and 2.16) are a clear example. Another is the flower, the gift that the *erastes* offers on vase 2.9 (Boston 63.119), as did the rightmost *erastes* on the side of vase 1.4 and as figures, often women, do in heterosexual courtship scenes (see vases 3.17–19). Indeed, vase 2.9 is a particularly good counter-example for the pedagogy theory: the figures here are clearly associated with hunting, the *eromenos* by his dog (less usual for *eromenos* than *erastes*), and the *erastes*—or the scene in general—by a deer that seems to follow him. But the transaction between the two figures has no connection to hunting; instead, the gift the *erastes* offers is purely erotic (or what we would call romantic).²⁰

Finally—and perhaps most importantly—there is no marked iconographic distinction between pedagogical and non-pedagogical gifts. This was already clear in vase 1.4: the three equivalent *erastai*, in three equivalent scenes, give their *eromenoi* a cock, a hare, and a flower. It is also clear in vase 2.4, the touchstone (in our argument) of the pedagogy theory.

Here the *erastes* ' alter egos/competitors stand in line, each bearing a gift. We claimed above that the fighting-cock and hare are emphasized, but the line-up of gift-bearers implies that all the gifts are roughly equivalent. A gift, in short—iconographically speaking—is a gift is a gift is a gift. Interestingly, this is generally true even of the sacks discussed earlier that, according to many scholars, contain money. This can be seen on vase 2.10



Figure 2.9 Terracotta ball. Helen and Alice Colburn Fund. Photograph © 2007 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

(Copenhagen Nat. 3634). The courting-gift scenes on the two sides of this vase are strictly analogous. In both, a bearded *erastes* leans on his walking stick and offers, with the same downward-pointing gesture, a gift to an *eromenos* who remains wrapped up in his cloak (though on side A it is a boy and on side B a youth). There is no marked iconographical distinction, though on side A, the *erastes* offers a lyre, while on side B, the *erastes* offers a sack.

Of course, if the sack does not contain money, this is not surprising. The argument has recently been made (Ferrari 2002.13–17) that this sack type, like the net-bag which we have seen in vases 1.8 and 1.13, contains *astragaloi*, and if this is the case, then this is just another example of the lack of distinction between pedagogical and non-pedagogical gifts. ²¹ Yet while there is good evidence for the *astragalos* argument, there is also good evidence on the other side (Meyer 1988)—and if these sacks contain money, then this scene is very



Figure 2.10A Pelike by the Tyskiewicz Painter. Side A. Photo: National Museum, Copenhagen. Dept. of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities.

surprising. One of the important rules of decent pederasty, as presented in our textual sources, is that the *eromenos* must not accept money from his *erastes*. The boundary between the *eromenos* and the prostitute is sacred, as it were, or (in Foucault's terms) highly "problematized" (see introduction, section 1).

How, then, might one account for vase 2.10 if the sacks contain money? ²² Unfortunately, the iconography will not solve this dilemma for us definitively, because it does not even make clear whether the sacks contain money or not—without which no solution is possible.

The scenes on vase 2.11 (Bochum Univ. S 507) seem to suggest that the sacks contain money and may possibly represent this gift as part of a complex of improper pederastic activities. We illustrate the tondo and both of the exterior sides. In the tondo, we see a couple of *erastes* and *eromenos*. The *erastes* has his cloak about his shoulders but has opened it to reveal his erect penis. He is bending his knees and seems to be leaning back on his cane: perhaps he is going into the almost seated pre-intercrural position of the *erastes* on vase



Figure 2.10B Pelike by the Tyskiewicz Painter. Side B. Photo: National Museum, Copenhagen. Dept. of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities.

1.13. He is holding a gift in his left hand but has drawn it back, like the middle *erastes* on the side of vase 1.4, to encourage the *eromenos*, who is already reaching for the gift, to reach farther. The *eromenos* is wrapped to his chin in his cloak but reaches out of the top for his gift, like the *eromenos* in vase 1.3. There is a difference between the two *eromenoi*'s gestures, though, which reflects the gift they are accepting. While the *eromenos* on vase 1.3 has his hand curled to pet the hare, the *eromenos* here has his hand outstretched to receive a bag—almost as if to weigh it.

What particularly suggests that the sack contains money? This question revolves around the objects held by *erastai* on both

of the exterior sides. On side A, we see three courting couples, all quite damaged. However, we can see that the three are in different phases of courtship: the left-hand couple is in conversation; in the central couple, the *erastes* offers the *eromenos* a gift; in the right-hand couple, both figures are opening their cloaks—although there is some suggestion that the *erastes* is pursuing the *eromenos*. Between the



Figure 2.11A Kylix by Makron. Interior. Photo: Kunstsammlungen der Ruhr-Universität Bochum.

left-hand and the central couple, a typical net-bag, full of large,

black *astragaloi* (as on vase 1.13) hangs on the wall: this suggests that the painter follows the convention for *astragalos*-bags and that the closed sack in the tondo must contain something else. Furthermore, the gift that the central *erastes* offers his *eromenos* consists of two small, round, light-colored objects, different from the *astragaloi* on the wall—and too small to be apples. It cannot of course be proven that these are coins, but they do not represent any of the other obvious options.

The *erastes* in the central couple of side B, furthermore, holds two more of the same (or very similar) objects. Here again, we see three couples. The left-hand couple is damaged, but we can see that their courtship is very advanced: the *eromenos*, with his cloak drawn apart, is moving toward the *erastes*, and the

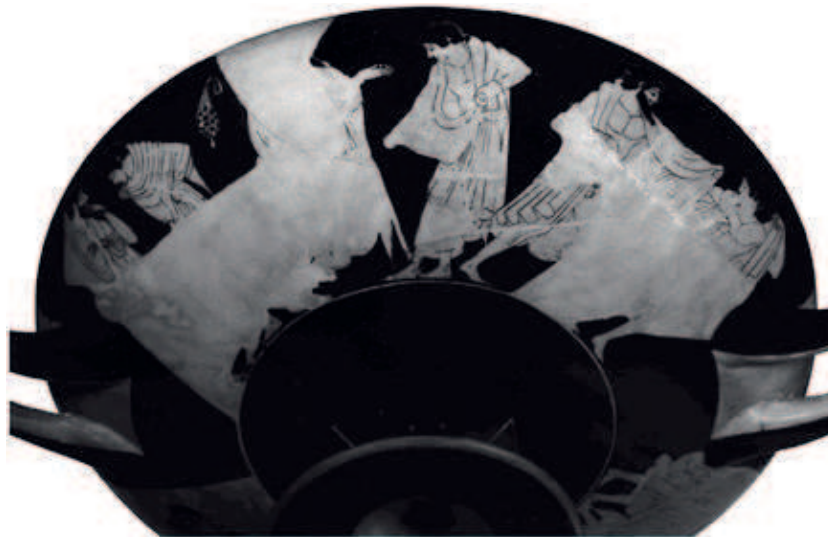


Figure 2.11B Kylix by Makron. Exterior Side A. Photo: Kunstsammlungen der Ruhr-Universität Bochum.



Figure 2.11C Kylix by Makron. Exterior Side B. Photo: Kunstsammlungen der Ruhr-Universität Bochum.



Figure 2.11D Kylix by Makron. Exterior Side A. Detail. Photo: Kunstsammlungen der Ruhr-Universität Bochum.

erastes has an erection. In the central couple, things are not so far along: the *erastes* still has his gifts by his side, and the *eromenos* is wrapped up in his cloak. The right-hand couple, on the other hand, is in a highly unusual position: the *erastes* (whose penis is not visible, due to damage) is moving toward the *eromenos*, who has drawn up his cloak and bent over, offering him his bare buttocks.

Might this scene of anal intercourse (or the preparations for it) resolve the mystery of the small, round gifts? Several scholars have argued that this context identifies the gifts as coins: this is, in short, a scene of forbidden activities—or a pederastic whore-house—where men pay for sex and boys offer services which a decent boy would not offer.²³ Is this the correct view? As will be seen in chapter 3, anal intercourse is not as firmly

excluded from pederastic iconography as most scholars since Dover have believed. Yet its direct representation is rare, occurring among extant vases only in this scene and on vase 3.8, and it might indeed suggest that the mysterious gifts are another thing which is rarely explicitly portrayed: money.



Figure 2.12 Kylix by Douris. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1952 (52.11.4). Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Yet this is not certain. The objects in question could be any number of small, round things. And again, if this vase explicitly portrays prostitution or improper pederasty—and provides a negative exception to our rule that all gifts are equivalent—then it is, like the *eromenos* 'erection on vase 2.1 and the bearded *eromenoi* on vases 2.2–3, an exception. The other courting-gift scenes in which closed sacks appear present no differences

from other courting-gift scenes that might denigrate the *eromenos*. Vase 2.10, again, is an example of this. We illustrate one more particularly splendid example, vase 2.12 (New York 52.11.4). Here we see a seated *eromenos*, with the *erastes* leaning down to him: this is the pattern of the couples on vases 0.5 and 1.2. A gym-kit of a net-bag, *aryballos*, and sponge hang on the wall behind the *erastes*. The *eromenos* has a thin cane, like the *eromenos* in the tondo of vase 0.5 and reaches for the *erastes*' cane, as does the *eromenos* in the tondo of vase 1.4. Over the two, here clearly visible, is the inscription *ho pais kalos*. Clearly, although the gift is contained in a closed sack, the *eromenos* is portrayed canonically as a praiseworthy *eromenos*.

Thus whatever that sack contains, it does not (in general) impact the respectability of the *eromenos*. If it contains *astragaloi* (or anything other than money), the problem would disappear. If it contains money, it leaves us with a dilemma to resolve: how can money appear as a respectable gift? It has been suggested (von Reden 1995.198–202) that the strictures against gifts of money that we find in our Classical sources were not yet current in the Archaic period.²⁴ This is possible, but the pouches only occur in red-figure, while on this theory, one would expect them to appear earlier. It is also possible that money-purses represent, as we suggested in section 1 of this chapter that the progressive "youthening" of the *erastes* may, a lessening emphasis on the pedagogical nature of pederasty. None of this, however, is certain. What the scenes with closed sacks (with the possible exception of vase 2.11) certainly demonstrate—to return to our broader point—is that vase-painting does not make distinctions between gifts. Some have pedagogical implications; others—such as money or *astragaloi*—do not; but all, in the symbolic language of vase-painting, count as an equivalent gift.

How then, the reader might ask, will we defend the pedagogy theory, after we have disproven its central tenet? Surprisingly, it is not difficult, if one takes into account a broader range of elements in courtship iconography. Some courting-gifts associate both *erastes* and *eromenos* with activities—hunting, recitation of epic, and so on—that the Greeks considered admirable. Other elements in the scenes also connect the figures to these activities, however. Indeed, these interests may not be represented in the gift. Again, for instance, on vase 2.9 it is

not the gift, a flower, that connects the couple to these admirable interests: instead it is the ensemble of elements in the scene (the *eromenos* ' hunting-dog, the deer behind the *erastes* , the athletes exercising around them) that make this connection. Rather than the symbols of a pederastic/pedagogical system, the gifts are part of an ensemble of elements that associate the figures in these scenes—and thereby pederastic courtship—with social ideals.

Thus we turn to the *general* association between pederastic courtship scenes and the other aspects of vase-painting's image of the ideal elite life. We begin with the association with hunting which, like the hare among courting-gifts, has been almost the exclusive focus of scholarship on this topic. Before proceeding to our rather simple interpretation of this association, we will do something that is not our practice, in this volume: we will pause to contradict a theory now popular in the scholarly world. On this theory, which we will call the "hunter theory," vase-painting does not merely associate pederastic courtship with hunting but rather portrays it symbolically as a form of hunting: as the first scholar to enunciate the theory said (Schnapp 1989.79–80), "the lover is to the beloved what the hunter is to his prey."²⁵ We take the time to disprove (in brief) this theory, because we believe that it is antithetical to the pedagogy theory. This problem is not acknowledged by the hunter theory's adherents: Koch-Harnack, for instance, subscribes to both.²⁶ In our view, however, this is incoherent: the courtship scene cannot at the same time portray pederastic courtship as both beneficial and dangerous to the *eromenos* . Ambivalence is of course possible, in iconography as elsewhere, but outright internal contradiction is unlikely.

There are many problems with the hunter theory, but we will concentrate on its weaknesses as an interpretation of iconography. It is based on a misunderstanding of the role of the gift in the courtship scene. In its view, the gift symbolizes the role of the *eromenos* : the *erastes* gives him a hare because he is analogous to a hare. Gifts do not, however (in courtship scenes or in real life) symbolize the person to whom they are given; rather they symbolize (if anything) what the giver is giving, or what he wants the receiver to have. Thus a hare may represent skill in hunting, but it cannot represent the *eromenos* . The theory, furthermore, relies on a false understanding of the exchange that is the center of the

courtship scene: it implies that the *erastes* gives the *eromenos* a hare in return for the *eromenos*' *self*—which again implies that the *eromenos* is equivalent to the hare. This is not, however, the implication of courtship iconography. Instead, as scene 1.6 makes particularly clear, the *erastes* gives the *eromenos* a gift in return for sexual access to his genitals and/or thighs. The *eromenos* retains control of his *self*, which, as can be seen in vase 1.6, remains focused on his own interests, which the *erastes*' gift satisfies. Vase iconography, furthermore, though certainly capable of analogy (see for instance vase 2.10), does not make an analogy between hunting and pederastic courtship. Indeed, it constantly and insistently distinguishes pederastic courtship scenes from scenes of violence. This will be made clear in chapter 4, where we discuss scenes in which Zeus chases Ganymede and scenes in which Eros chases boys. The iconography of these scenes (see in particular discussion of vases 4.5 and 4.23) emphasizes the contrast between the chasing and grabbing that they portray and the non-violent courtship in mortal pederastic scenes.

Once more—as the reader must expect by now—there is a set of possible exceptions to this rule; yet again, they come from the Affecter. The Affecter frequently paints scenes in which courtship seems to mix with pursuit—and possibly komastic dancing. The strongest case for viewing these as scenes of flight is made by vase 2.13 (Boston 99.516). On the neck of side A, a youth with the long hair and side-lock of the *eromenoi* in vases 0.2 and 0.3, nude but for a cloak draped over chest and arm, seems to run away from a bearded man in a similar costume, who makes an unusual gesture toward him, a version of the up-and-down gestures or perhaps a double down-gesture.²⁷ On the body of the vase, directly below, a bearded warrior in armor chases a youth similar to the fleeing figure above and seems to be about to run him through the thigh with a spear. The juxtaposition of the two scenes seems to underline the violent potential of the scene on the neck.



Figure 2.13 Neck-amphora by the Affector. Henry Little Pierce Fund. Photograph © 2007 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Is this then a scene of pursuit? Perhaps it is, but it is not entirely clear. The Affector puts similar scenes on the necks of many vases, and this is the only one on which there is such a parallel to the scene on the body. In fact, there is a counter-example on the other side of this vase. On the body of side B, there is a seated, bearded figure making a conversational gesture toward a youth outfitted in the same way as those on side A, who holds out a wreath in return—again, probably a gesture of erotic acceptance. There is

no iconographic analogy between it and the "pursuit" scene on the neck above it. Furthermore, the elements in the neck scene on side B point away from flight and toward courtship or dancing: the bearded adult's gestures are even more like up-and-down gestures, and the youth's hand meets the up-gesture hand.

It has been suggested (Beazley *ABV* 239.11, Mommsen 1975.1.98) that the main scene on side B represents Zeus and Ganymede, and this seems plausible. Might this link its idea-content with the pursuit aspect of the scene above it on the neck? Again, it is possible, but there are no scenes in contemporary vase-painting in which Zeus pursues Ganymede, 28 and the main scene on this side of the vase contains none of the elements of pursuit which are typical of Ganymede scenes in the fifth century.

As is usual with the Affecter, the scenes' meaning is unclear; indeed Mommsen (1975.56) includes his "pursuit" scenes among those which "he repeats most often and which nonetheless seem most decisively to avoid a relation of content to meaning." 29 Even if, however, these scenes do represent pursuit, it would only go to prove again that the Affecter was on a different page from the rest of vase-painters: he is, yet again, in the most precise sense, the exception that proves the rule. No other vase-painter portrays courtship as pursuit until the mid-fifth century, and then vase-painters portray only divine pederasty in terms of pursuit, contrasting it with mortal manners. In vase-painting, a god can chase a boy, but a mortal man must court him, avoiding all violence, because the boy is an equal partner in the erotic exchange. 30

But enough of polemics. We return to our discussion of the connection—in our view far simpler—that vase-painting makes between pederasty and hunting. As we have seen on several vases, hunting is one of the activities to which the lovers and their relationships are connected. On vase 0.3, the *erastes* is portrayed as a hunter; on 2.9, the *eromenos* is; on 2.4, both are hunters; on 2.5 their relationship is surrounded by hunting. All four of these vases are black-figure, and this is typical: the connection between pederasty and hunting is generally made on sixth century vases rather than fifth. 31 It reappears, however, on a vase of the fourth century, vase 2.14 (Musée Rodin 215), which we illustrate partly to show the surprising constancy of these associations in Greek thinking and partly to shine a light

on the generally ignored pederastic vases of the Classical period. In the period of vase 2.14, the traditional courting-gift scenes generally appear in a simplified version (see chapter 6). One of the most common ways of marking erotic attachment in this period is through the symbolic presence of the god Eros (see chapter 4). In this rather unusual scene, a nude young hunter, wearing a conical cap and carrying a *lagobolon* (see vase 2.4) over his shoulder, sits at the base of a shrine to the god Hermes (who was often represented by a so-called herm, consisting of a sculpted head on an unsculpted block of stone with an erect penis attached at about the middle), probably meant as a rural shrine where he is resting during the hunt (see also vase 4.10). Another young hunter with his cloak draped over his shoulders and a *lagobolon* in his hand walks away from the shrine. The seated youth is looking after the other youth who returns his gaze, and the god Eros hovers behind the seated youth, showing that his gaze is an erotic one.



Figure 2.14A Calyx krater by the Painter of Rodin 966. Youths and Herm.
Photo: © Musée Rodin—Luc and Lala Joubert.

A more usual way of showing the connection between pederastic courtship and the other activities to which it is connected is demonstrated by vase 2.15 (Villa Giulia 50535). On this vase, there is a youth *erastes* (identified as such by the cane on which he is leaning and his sideburn) in the tondo, holding his courting-gift behind him, in a gesture we saw on vase 1.1. On the sides of the vase, we see activities in which similar youths take part. On side A, there is a deer hunt, on side B, wrestling matches. This is the same kind of decorative program that we saw on vase 1.10, where three parts of the world of the citizen's leisure are represented. Here instead we see three parts of an admirable youth's leisure. This painter has chosen to include hunting in his program instead of the symposium, perhaps because hunting is associated with youth. The two other parts of the program are the same, however: pederasty and the gymnasium.

Indeed, any theory that attempts to explain the significance of hunting in its relation to pederasty on Athenian vases must take into account the fact



Figure 2.14B Calyx krater by the Painter of Rodin 966. Eros. Photo: © Musée Rodin—Luc and Lala Joubert.

that athletic activity occupies a similar place in the iconography of pederastic scenes.³² Again, from the earliest vases to the latest, *erastai* and *eromenoi* are identified as athletes, and their courtship is set in the gymnasium (see vase 0.2, 0.4, and so on). Indeed, there is the same problem with a focus on hunting that there is with a focus on gifts of hares. Game animals, though common in courting-gift scenes, are not the only gifts offered or even the majority of gifts. Similarly, scenes that associate pederasty with hunting are no more common than scenes which associate it with other idealized activities. In particular—to repeat an argument that we made in chapter 1

—if one counts as pederastic scenes the many scenes in which a *kalos* -inscription identifies an athlete as pederastically attractive, athletic scenes far outnumber hunting scenes. Indeed, many of our vases, both black- and red-figure, imply that there is no distinction between pederastic lovers and athletes, or more specifically between *eromenoi* and athletic victors. For instance, on vase 2.16 (New York



Figure 2.15A Kylix by the Ambrosios Painter. Interior. Photo: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Lazio, Sezione Etruria Meridionale.

1979.11.9), there are strong parallels between the two exterior sides, one representing pederastic courtship and the other the adulation of athletic victors. The scenes on both sides of the vase take place in the gymnasium: on one side, athletic victors, a boy and a youth, are decked with ribbons. A gymkit of sponge, *aryballos*, and strigil hang on the wall. On the other

side, a boy and a youth are courted while the youth cleans himself with a strigil. The arrangement of figures on the two sides is essentially the same: on both sides, a youth is surrounded by two figures, one of whom he faces with his body, the other with his face (see vase 1.8), and a boy is the object of one figure's attention. The youths and the boys on the different sides are so similar as to be indistinguishable. Two major things distinguish the two sides: the figures surrounding the youth and boy are bearded on side A and beardless on side B, and the bearded figures crown their youth and boy with ribbons, while the beardless figures court theirs with gifts (a net-bag of *astragaloi* and a flower). What are the implications of the strong parallel between the two sides? It could imply that the two activities portrayed are just different kinds of pederasty: the bearded ribbon-ers do not have the markers of trainers, such as the trainers' rod, and could therefore be *erastai* .³³ Or it could imply that being



Figure 2.15B Kylix by the Ambrosios Painter. Exterior Side A. Photo: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Lazio, Sezione Etruria Meridionale.



Figure 2.15C Kylix by the Ambrosios Painter. Exterior Side B. Photo: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Lazio, Sezione Etruria Meridionale.



Figure 2.16A Kylix by Makron. Side A. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Fried Gift, 1979; David L. Klein, Jr. Memorial Foundation, Inc., and Stuart Tray Gifts, 1978; Gift of Dietrich von Bothmer, 1980; Classical Purchase Fund, 1988; gift of Elizabeth Hecht, 1989. (1979.11.9; 1978.11.7a; 1980.304; 1988.11.5; 1989.43). Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 2.16B Kylix by Makron. Side B. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Fried Gift, 1979; David L. Klein, Jr. Memorial Foundation, Inc., and Stuart Tray Gifts, 1978; Gift of Dietrich von Bothmer, 1980; Classical Purchase Fund, 1988; gift of Elizabeth Hecht, 1989. (1979.11.9; 1978.11.7a; 1980.304; 1988.11.5; 1989.43). Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

crowned as a victor and being courted are two analogous honors due a victorious athlete. Indeed, it is even possible that the youths and boys on the two sides are intended as the same youth and boy and that the two scenes merely represent two different moments in a victorious athlete's day.

Other vases, instead of portraying athletes and *eromenoi* as parallel, simply present athletes as *eromenoi* —or *eromenoi* as

athletes. An example of this is vase 2.17 (Paris G 45). Here we see three couples of youth *erastes* and boy *eromenos* engaged in courtship. As on vases 1.4 and 2.11, each couple here is at a different point in courtship. In the right-hand couple, the *erastes* and *eromenos* are not yet in physical contact; in the left-hand couple, the *erastes* is placing a wreath on the *eromenos*' head (and thereby touching him); the middle couple is embracing and preparing to kiss. There are no athletic paraphernalia on



Figure 2.17 Amphora by the Dikaios Painter. Photo RMN © Musée du Louvre—Les frères Chuzeville.

the wall, but the left- and right-hand couples, in particular the *eromenoi*, are clearly in the gymnasium: the left-hand *eromenos* holds a discus in one hand and jumping weights in the other, while the right-hand *eromenos* is lifting his leg in some kind of exercise. Indeed, this scene does not only represent courtship in the gymnasium: it blends courtship and athletics into one activity. In fact, the left-hand couple may be seen as blending the two parallel sides of vase 2.16: the *erastes* courts his *eromenos* by crowning him as a victorious athlete. The wreath, an element in both pederastic and gymnasiastic iconographies, is here indistinguishably an element in both.

Indeed, so close are these two iconographies that at times it is impossible to tell whether a scene is a courtship scene or not. Vase 2.18 (Boston 10.178), although cited by earlier authors as a pederastic vase (Koch-Harnack 1983.85–87), is such a case. Clearly it represents the crowning of an athletic victor. Does it also represent a courtship scene? On one side of the vase, there is a naked, beribboned athlete. As was discussed in chapter 1, his side-



Figure 2.18 Amphora by the Kleophrades Painter. James Fund and by Special Contribution. Photograph © 2007 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

burn identifies him as a youth, although his genitalia are those of a boy. He carries a cane, an *aryballos*, and a live hare (with open eyes not visible in the reproduction). On the other side, a youth with a darker sideburn and therefore perhaps a bit more mature prepares to crown him with a wreath. What does the wreath mean? What does the hare mean? Is it a hare the athlete has caught,³⁴ or is it a courting-gift he has received? There is no certain proof. However, this scene's ambiguity underlines how closely related courtship and athletic victory scenes are, iconographically. They share so many elements that they are often indistinguishable.

Thus hunting and athletics, separately and together, form the context of many courtship scenes. The symposium, which also had an important role in the education (or character-building) of Greek elite boys, also appears. Interestingly, however, other aspects of the idealization of pederasty in our textual sources appear more rarely in vase-painting. According to many of our textual sources, the reason that hunting and athletics are educative is that they prepare a boy for warfare;³⁵ the connection between pederasty and warfare and/or heroism is central to many of our texts' idealizing views of pederasty (see introduction, section 1). We close this chapter with seven vase-paintings that make this connection as well. It is possible that common war iconographies have pederastic implications: vases 2.20 and 2.21 seem to cast arming scenes in a pederastic light—or pederastic courtship in a martial light—and it is possible that many of these scenes, like scenes of beautiful athletes, are implicitly linked to pederasty. However, there are only a few scenes that we know which make an explicit connection between pederasty and martial heroism. Why this is rarer in vase-painting than in literature is one of the many mysteries in vase-painting's portrayal of pederasty.

The first three of our military scenes make an association between the courtship scene-types that we have seen so far and preparation for war. Vase 2.19 (Villa Giulia 50457), for instance, presents a courtship scene, although in a version (like vase 2.18) in which *erastes* and *eromenos* are on opposite

sides of the vase. On the side we illustrate, the *erastes* , leaning on his cane, holds out his gift, but instead of a hare or a cock or a lyre, it is a helmet. In this scene, the painter portrays the *eromenos* as a potential warrior, rather than an athlete or a hunter.

Another scene that integrates war iconography and courtship is on vase 2.20 (Boston 95.32). Here, we have an arming scene. To the right a young warrior is led into battle by a woman, while an old woman seated behind him hands him a helmet (with a gesture similar to the *erastes* ' in vase 2.19). In the middle, a woman holds a helmet and a shield out to a nude young warrior who is putting on a leg-greave. To the left, a youth, nude except for his leg-greaves, is conversing with a bearded man, who is leaning on his cane. The man seems to take the place that the standing women occupy with each of the other youths, but he is not giving his youth his arms: instead, the youth's shield and spear are behind him. From



Figure 2.19 Pelike by the Geras Painter. Photo: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Lazio, Sezione Etruria Meridionale.

the man's posture, it seems clear what his role is: he is the youth's *erastes*. There is no gift visible, although the *eromenos*' open-handed gesture (with remarkably long, curving fingers) might possibly indicate a readiness to accept one. In any case, conversation with an *erastes* is portrayed as part of arming. In vase 2.21 (New York 58.11.1), instead, we have the kind of decorative program we saw on vase 2.15: similar youths appear on the sides and in the tondo, thereby associating the activities represented as parts of the same kind of life. Here both sides of the vase represent courtship scenes, in which all of the *erastai* and *eromenoi* are youths. The scene is set in the gymnasium: sandals, *astragaloi* -bags, discuses, gym-kits, strigils, and a pair of jumping weights hang from the wall. On each side (of which we illustrate one) there is a competition scene of an *eromenos* with two *erastai*, plus an observer. In each, one *erastes* offers the *eromenos* a lyre, while the other leans on his cane and



Figure 2.20 Kylix by Pamphaios. Catharine Page Perkins Fund. Photograph
© 2007 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

converses (while in our case making something very like a down-gesture). In the tondo, however, instead of another courtship scene, we have a youth putting on his armor while a page holds his shield and his spear. On this vase, then, instead of the more typical connection of pederasty, gymnasium, and hunting (vase 2.15) or pederasty, gymnasium and symposium (vase 1.10), we have pederasty, gymnasium, and arming. Our last four vases connect pederasty and a warrior's activities and virtues in different ways. First we illustrate two vases on which the heroic couples cited in the introduction (section 1) as pederastic saints appear portrayed after the fashion of pederastic couples. The first, vase 2.22 (Berlin 2278) is a somewhat questionable case. It portrays Achilles and Patroclus in their tent. Achilles is binding a wound on Patroclus' arm. ³⁶ Both are in armor. Achilles has his helmet on; Patroclus seems to be wearing a cap and has a quiver over his shoulder. There is an arrow to Patroclus' side, presumably the one that wounded him. Patroclus' exposed genitalia may seem odd to a modern viewer, but in fact, much as the Greeks portrayed men as nude in situations where nudity would be unlikely, they also showed men's genitalia in situations in which they would probably be covered. This is not confined to erotic situations and has no implications for the relationship between the pair. Indeed, the scene makes no explicit reference to the erotic nature of their relationship; certainly, it has none of the marked elements or combinations of elements of any pederastic scene-type. Nonetheless, given the overwhelming tendency



Figure 2.21A Kylix by the Lyandros Painter. Exterior. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Christos G. Bastis Gift, 1958 (58.11.1). Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 2.21B Kylix by the Lyandros Painter. Interior. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Christos G. Bastis Gift, 1958 (58.11.1). Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 2.22 Kylix by the Sosias Painter. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. F 2278. Photography by Jutta Tietz-Glagow, Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

of post-Homeric Greek texts to portray Achilles and Patroclus as lovers, we would argue that this scene probably does so as well, or rather, that it intends their domestic intimacy as erotic. In particular, the great precision with which the age difference between them is indicated seems to point in that direction: both have sideburns, but Achilles is smooth-cheeked, while Patroclus has a short beard and moustache, perhaps representing a new beard (see vase 3.5). As we mentioned in the introduction (section 1), later Greek authors debated the relative ages of the two heroes and their respective roles (*erastes* or *eromenos*)

in their erotic relationship. This scene seems to present a solution to this dilemma: like Plato's Phaedrus (*Symposium* 180A), the painter sees Patroclus as the elder (see *Iliad* 11.785–787) and consequently the *erastes* .

It is, of course, not surprising that Achilles and Patroclus should appear as a couple in a vase-painting: again, it is instead surprising that they do not appear together more often. Harmodius and Aristogeiton appear at least seven times, by contrast, and Harmodius' posture had a strong influence on the depiction of the Athenian national hero, Theseus (Taylor 1991.36–70). It was, however, the statue-group in the Agora (figure 0.1) that was influential; indeed, all but one of the couple's appearances in vase-painting follows the convention established by the statues precisely (Brunnsåker 1971.99–111). We illustrate the one vase-painting which differs markedly from the statue-group, vase 2.23 (Würzburg 515). Harmodius' raised arm makes clear that the statue-group's influence is strong here as well, but the painter has recreated the scene of the pair's heroic act. He has represented Hipparchus—placed between the two heroes—and the completed action of stabbing him. He has stripped the figures of their costume of nudity and put them back in the clothes which they would have worn in a real procession, and he has placed wreaths in their hair appropriate to a religious ritual.



Figure 2.23 Stamnos by the Copenhagen Painter. Photo: Martin-von-Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg.

Of course, this is not a courtship scene of any kind. Nonetheless, like the sculptors, the vase-painter has portrayed the figures in ways appropriate to their roles in the important erotic side to their story, Aristogeiton—and Hipparchus as well—as bearded *erastai* and Harmodius as a muscular youth. Interestingly, Harmodius has the hair-style with long side-locks that the *eromenoi* on several of our black-figure vases wore (see vases 0.2 and 0.3). Perhaps it is through such arch-traditional associations that a painter would identify an

eromenos in a scene where there was no place for courtship synecdoche.

We close with two vases that point ahead to the last section of chapter 4, where we discuss the god Eros. In these two vases, Eros appears in military contexts. On vase 2.24 (Cabinet des Médailles 366), Eros, portrayed as a boy or a youth with a boy's hair-style, bears weapons. The gesture with which he



Figure 2.24 Neck-amphora by the Charmides Painter. Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

holds the spear makes clear that he is not armed but rather carrying arms to someone, presumably a warrior.³⁷ Eros here is something akin to a winged version of a page. Why would Eros, in particular, bring a warrior his arms? To understand this connection, one must bear in mind the Greek tradition, discussed in the introduction (section 1), of erotic bonds between fellow-soldiers, on the model of Achilles and Patroclus. In this context, one could explain the connection by saying that Eros brings the soldier his arms because it is Eros—desire—that inspires him to fight. Much as the wife and the father in a departure scene remind the warrior what/whom he fights to protect, Eros—in the form of an *eromenos*—brings him arms so that he can show his bravery and/or loyalty to his *eromenos*.³⁸

The symbolism of vase 2.25 (Vienna Univ. 526a) is very similar. Here Eros, portrayed as muscular youth, blows a war trumpet: ³⁹ desire (again, in



Figure 2.25 Lekythos by Douris. Photo: © Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Universität Wien—Edith Hütter.

eromenos form) calls the warrior to battle. That is to say, it is desire that makes a man go to battle, desire to fight at the side of the youth that he loves.

Thus while the symbolic role of courting-gifts has perhaps been exaggerated, vase-painting nonetheless persistently associates pederasty with the activities and attitudes that comprised its portrayal of the ideal elite man's life. It portrays the *erastes* as a role model for the *eromenos* and as a source of encouragement and praise for him as he learns/adopts these activities and attitudes. The strongest associations in vase-painting are with hunting and athletics, but the association between pederasty and military heroism, so central to the idealization of pederasty in our textual sources, also appears in a few scenes. These associations, along with the idealizing portrayal of the *erastes* and *eromenos* (section 1 of this chapter) and the sexual self-control symbolized by the erotic activities in which the figures engage (chapter 3) make clear that vase-painting regards pederastic relations as part of the ideal life for elite men.

3

CONSUMMATION

Andrew Lear

As with modes of courtship, our textual sources give us little information about modes of consummation. Most of the sources from Archaic or Classical Greece that refer to consummation of pederastic relations do so euphemistically. A few, principally comic, mention anal intercourse, but generally as an object of dispraise or humor. Again, as with courtship, vase-painting represents consummation much more specifically.

One could, however, argue that there is a correspondence between vase-painting and our literary sources on this point. First, although they receive the lion's share of scholarly attention,¹ scenes of consummation are so rare in vase-painting as to be inherently exceptional: intercourse appears in 5 percent or less of extant pederastic scenes (see note 38, p. 237). Thus vase-painting too—despite the impression that one could get from the exceptional scenes that we consider in this chapter—generally avoids the explicit representation of sex. Furthermore, with only two exceptions (vases 2.11 and 3.8), the kind of admirable figures that appear in courtship scenes engage, in vase-painting, only in intercrural intercourse. It is of course possible that intercrural intercourse was the standard means of consummation between *erastes* and *eromenos*; indeed, the references to boys' thighs in such poets as Solon and Anacreon seem to confirm that they played an important role in pederastic sex. There is, however, also evidence that pederastic couples had anal sex (see introduction, section 1, and vases 3.6–8), and we might therefore regard vase-painting's insistence upon intercrural intercourse as a kind of visual euphemism: it is a portrayal of sex, but at the same time, a way of avoiding the portrayal of other kinds of sex, which were considered less admirable.

In this section, we will consider the iconography of intercrural

scenes; we will show how, along with up-and-down scenes, they portray the *eromenos* not only as moderate and self-controlled but also as dominating his *erastes*. In this way, the portrayal of erotic activities completes the idealization of pederasty discussed in chapter 2. We will also consider the vase evidence for male–male anal intercourse. Scenes in which this occurs generally involve comic, ugly, and/or immoderate figures, such as Satyrs; the iconography of the non-ideal erotic scene-types in which they appear functions as a kind of "opposite" for that of pederastic scenes. Interestingly, however, the distinction does not center on the inclusion or exclusion of anal sex, which occurs or is hinted at in several pederastic scenes as well. It centers instead precisely on the ugliness and immoderation of the figures and their activities, which (though anal intercourse straddles the line) include a number of sex-acts which never occur in any extant pederastic scene and which were evidently viewed as debasing: masturbation, group sex, fellatio, and sexual violence. We will illustrate scenes which make clear the difference between pederastic iconography and that of the various non-ideal, orgiastic erotic scene-types. Finally, we will illustrate several scenes in which—by contrast with the orgiastic scenes—*hetairai* and boy-slaves seem to share in the exalted status of *eromenoi* and consider their implications.

We begin with scenes of intercrural sex, Beazley's type c'. These have a strong relationship with the courtship scenes that we have explored since the beginning of this volume. In fact, it is telling that in our discussion of courtship iconographies, we illustrated two scenes of intercrural intercourse (vases 1.6 and 2.1) and several scenes in which an *erastes* bends down to prepare for it (vases 0.4, 1.13, 3.6 and possibly 1.4). Indeed, we begin our section of intercrural scenes with another courtship scene, one in which the *erastes* seems to refer to intercrural intercourse not with gestures, but with words. On vase 3.1 (Richmond 56–27–5), we see a couple in what would seem like an early phase of courtship. The bearded *erastes* leans on his cane facing his *eromenos*. He has no gift, and his *eromenos* is wrapped up to his chin and hooded. Aside from these factors of posture and gesture, the only thing that tells us that this is a courtship scene is the word that is inscribed as coming out of the *erastes*' mouth: *apodos*, which means simply "give."

There is nothing here to indicate to what the command/request

refers. However, the only other use of the word in a vase inscription connects it to intercrural intercourse. This inscription appeared on a vase which was illustrated in the nineteenth century but has since disappeared, at least from the public realm, vase 3.2. The scene is one of athletics and athletic victory: indeed, it is an excellent example of the inseparability of athletic and pederastic iconographies (see vases 2.15–18). To the left of the central couple, there is a nude young athlete holding jumping weights and javelins, and, to his left (not visible in our illustration) a partially preserved figure leaning on his cane and facing him, clearly an *erastes*. The central couple consists of a bearded and cloaked man, putting several long wreaths on a nude young athlete, who already has a ribbon on his left arm and is holding further victory-fronds in his hands. There is nothing explicitly erotic about the scene, except for the inscriptions; or rather, it is the inscriptions which make clear to the modern viewer what might have been clear to an ancient viewer without them, that this is an erotic scene. There is one illegible inscription between the leftmost figures, and three *kalos* -inscriptions, one for each young



Figure 3.1 Kylix in the manner of Douris. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond. The Adolph D. and Wilkins C. Williams Fund. Photo: © Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.

athlete. Behind the central athlete, furthermore, there is another inscription, reading *apodos to diamerion* : "give (me) intercourse." The word used for intercourse, moreover, although similar words can be used for intercourse with women as well (see Aristophanes *Birds* 669, 1254), implies strongly that intercrural intercourse is the *desideratum*: *diamerion* derives from the words *dia* (through) and *meros* (thigh) and might be rendered "between-the-thighs-ifying." On this basis, we suggest that the *erastes* on vase 3.1, although comparatively laconic, confirms the connection of courtship iconographies to intercrural consummation.

The connections between courtship and intercrural scenes are reinforced by the intercrural scenes as well, which often contain elements of courtship iconography, such as courting-gifts, athletic bodies, and gymnasium implements. This is true in vase 2.1, where one member of each of the couples on either side of the central, copulating couple holds a courting-gift of a fighting-cock. It is also true in the analogous scene on the other side of vase 2.1, which we do not illustrate: the *eromenos* in the left-hand couple carries a stag, the *erastes* in the right-hand couple a fighting-cock, and there are a fox and a hare, both dead, hanging on the "wall."² Vase 1.6 is also a clear case: the



Figure 3.2 Lekythos. Photo: Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University.

eromenos here holds his courting-gift(s) *during* sex, so one might say that the scene is an intercrural scene and a courting-gift scene simultaneously (or that it represents both phases of the relationship synoptically).

On vase 3.3 (Munich 2631), no courting-gift is visible. The scene is badly damaged, but we can see that a bearded, naked *erastes* has bent his knees and crouched down, with his right arm around his *eromenos* and an erection; the *eromenos* has revealed his genitals and buttocks—and, of course, his *thighs*—by making the usual cloak-opening gesture. Interestingly, the *eromenos*' cloak extends around the *erastes*, suggesting the motif of the common cloak/ blanket, which we saw in vase 1.11. Perhaps, indeed, this is another example of red-figure's greater degree of naturalism: while the common cloak motif may suggest the fictionality of the couple's standing postures, it is nonetheless more appropriate to a scene of intercourse than to a scene of courtship. Still, this scene is set firmly in the

world of courtship scenes by the two props to the right of the couple: a cane and a gym-kit hanging from it. These, one might say, are synecdoches that represent the two lovers' respective roles in the ideal pederastic world: the cane represents the *erastes* ' gentlemanly leisure, while the gym-kit represents the *eromenos* ' participation in admirable,



Figure 3.3 Kylix by Douris. Photo: Staatliche Antikensammlung und Glyptothek München.

educative activities. The word *ho* , furthermore, is legible above the couple, to the left: clearly this was the beginning of the standard acclamation *ho pais kalos* .

Vase 3.4 (Berlin 1798) presents a very different kind of scene.

Here there are no marked elements of courtship iconography. Indeed, this vase (another vase which has disappeared—one of those which vanished from the Berlin museum in the final days of World War II) presents the first of the many orgiastic scenes in this chapter. This is a scene of sex and drinking, set at the symposium, which is represented symbolically by vines with over-size grape clusters, as it was on vase 1.17. Intercrural intercourse does not generally appear in such symposium scenes, and it is, as it were, tucked into a corner in this one. Nonetheless, we would argue that the scene has a clear message about intercrural intercourse. To the right of the pederastic couple, there is a row of four heterosexual couples, each copulating in a different position, and there were six more heterosexual possibilities on the other side, including



Figure 3.4 Kylix. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. F 1798. Photo: Museum.

fellatio. Indeed, one could view the vase as presenting a dictionary of sexual positions. In this dictionary, however, there

is only one position for pederastic intercourse: intercrural. That, we would claim, is the message of this scene—on this point—and the implicit message of the courtship-related intercrural scenes illustrated above: intercrural intercourse is the only means of consummation for pederasty, or for decent, courtship-based pederasty.

Why this should be the case can be easily understood by contrasting the intercrural scenes we have illustrated with a scene of male–male anal intercourse. Already Dover (1989.105) used vase 3.5 (Hamburg 1981.173) for this purpose: defining the pederastic ethos by contrast.

There are two figures on this vase, one on either side: on side A, a figure with a short beard and a patch of facial hair, nude but for a cape, holds his erect penis in his right hand and strides forward, reaching out with his left hand toward the figure on the other side. This is a bearded male, dressed in a spotted one-piece suit and helmet, holding an empty quiver draped over his left shoulder and bent over at the waist, presenting his buttocks (although clothed) to the striding figure and holding his hands up on either side of his face, in a gesture that almost certainly indicates alarm. There is an inscription, not visible in reproduction, which runs from the left-hand figure's head to the right-hand figure's heel, across the two sides of the vase, saying "I am Eurymedon. I stand bent-over." This vase is so totally exceptional that its



Figure 3.5A Oinochoe in the manner of the Triptolemos Painter. Side A. Photo: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg.

interpretation has generated a great deal of controversy. ³ Certain basic things are clear, though: the figure on the left is a Greek, and he is preparing to anally penetrate, or perhaps rape, the figure on the right, who is dressed as an Asiatic. There are many different views of the inscription; it is clear that the Asiatic speaks the second sentence, as he is bent over, but there has been much dispute about the first. Probably the best view is that it is spoken by the Greek: he is the personification of "Eurymedon," a river, but also—more importantly—the location of the final Greek victory over the Persian empire, of which the Asian (though there is controversy

over his precise nationality) is undoubtedly a representative. The date of the battle confirms the interpretation: it took place in 465, in precisely the period to which the vase is attributed on stylistic grounds. Thus Dover says that the scene (1989.105) "proclaims, 'We've buggered the Persians.' "

Can this scene help us to understand the iconography of intercultural scenes? We will argue that it does, although as we will show below, only within



Figure 3.5B Oinochoe in the manner of the Triptolemos Painter. Side B. Photo: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg.

limits. Certainly there are many striking points of contrast

between the Eurymedon vase and an intercrural scene. The ages of the sexual partners on the Eurymedon vase do not meet pederastic criteria: the Greek soldier is of a good age for an *erastes*, but the Asiatic is a bearded man and therefore not of an appropriate age for an *eromenos*. As occurs often in intercrural scenes, there is a prop here which shows, synoptically, the pre-sexual history of the figures' relationship. The difference between these implicit narratives is great, however: in an intercrural scene, a gift would indicate that the *erastes* had wooed the *eromenos*, while here the Asiatic's empty quiver indicates that he has fought and can no longer defend himself. The Greek soldier, furthermore, shows none of an *erastes*' interest in caressing his partner's genitals: instead, he holds his own, at the ready. The inscription emphasizes the Asiatic's bent-over posture and the form of intercourse which it will facilitate. The iconography emphasizes two further aspects of the scene, however. Both figures' gestures emphasize its violence; in particular, we may see a contrast between the *erastes* in an intercrural scene, who puts his arm around his *eromenos*, and the Greek soldier here, who reaches straight out with an open hand, in order to grab his victim. The figures' postures, instead, emphasize the Greek's victory and the Asiatic's defeat. This too can be seen by contrast with an intercrural scene: in an intercrural scene, the *eromenos*' upright posture and the *erastes*' crouching one put the *eromenos* head and shoulders above the *erastes*; here the Greek soldier's upright posture and the Asiatic's bent-over one put the Greek soldier head and shoulders above his victim. Does this contrast, then, imply that the *eromenos* in an intercrural scene is represented as a victor, and the *erastes* as his victim? Such a view would seem to us exaggerated: two contrasting items are not necessarily opposites. It would not, however, seem exaggerated to us to say that the *erastes* is portrayed as a beggar. He offers gifts and caresses and receives only disinterested acquiescence in return, and he receives it by crouching in front of an *eromenos* who overtops and overlooks him.

The concept of the *eromenos* defeating the *erastes*, however, is not as unlikely as it might seem. Poets in Archaic Greek poetry often refer to themselves as defeated by Eros, desire, or a boy; in the Theognidea, in particular, the poet presents his erotic relation with his *eromenos* as that of a defeated man

begging (Theognis 1235, 1237, 1286, 1344, and so on). We would, furthermore, argue that the up-and-down scene at least flirts with portraying the *eromenos* as a victor. We have discussed the up-and-down scene since the beginning of this volume. Up to this point, we have demonstrated that it is best to regard the up-and-down gestures as a combination of two gestures, put together for symbolic rather than naturalistic reasons. We have not, however, stated until now what we think that combination might mean.

The down-gesture might seem relatively uncomplicated: it is a gesture of lust. Yet even this gesture we would argue is not so uncomplicated as it might seem. As is evident in such scenes as vase 1.13, where the down-gesture is complete and clearly portrayed (and as the verb *orchipedizein* —to grab the *testicles* —used at Aristophanes' *Birds* 142, also implies), the down-gesture is directed at least in part at a boy's testicles, rather than his penis. Fondling a boy's testicles is not only a way of stimulating him sexually. It is also a way of holding his most vulnerable parts, and as such functions as a request for trust: it asks a boy to surrender control over his most vulnerable parts (or perhaps, symbolically, his vulnerabilities) and promises to treat them gently.

The up-gesture, on the other hand, is more mysterious. Beazley (1947.219) calls it "chucking of the chin," and says that the kisses found in later courtship scenes "replace" it. This would imply that it is a gesture of affection, and the hair-patting up-gesture used by the *erastes* on vase 0.3 seems to argue for this interpretation. Yet even if it does indicate affection, this hair-patting gesture is exceptional and could have an exceptional meaning as well. There are, furthermore, more precise parallels to the up-gesture in vase-painting: in several scenes of the fall of Troy, for instance, Priam uses it to plead for his life.⁴ Literary sources also give supplication as the meaning of such gestures. For instance, in the *Iliad* (10.454–455), a Trojan spy pleads for his life by "taking his (the hero Diomedes') chin with his stout hand," and (for an example from a text important in this volume) at Aeschines 1.61, Timarchus is said to have attempted by *hypogeneiazon* (under-chinning) to win the forgiveness of a mistreated ex-lover. Thus the up-and-down gestures might seem to represent a combination, not of lust and affection, but of lust and supplication—and the *eromenos* could be said to be represented as granting mercy either to a

beggar or to someone he has defeated.

Thus the contrast between the Eurymedon vase and the intercrural scene is in fact very telling. There are, however (as we said above), problems with it. In particular, anal intercourse—which is presumably at the center of the contrast—is not as firmly excluded from pederastic iconography as one might imagine. We have already seen one pederastic scene in which (we believe) an *erastes* indicates an interest in anal intercourse: this is vase 0.4, where the side-figure to the right of the *eromenos* seems to make a down-gesture toward the *eromenos*' buttocks. It is of course possible that this is merely a dancing gesture, but there is a more certain example on another black-figure amphora, vase 3.6 (Vatican 17829). In this scene, as on vase 0.4, there is a central couple of *erastes* and *eromenos* and a line of side-figures—though here perhaps we may simply call them other *erastai*—on either side of the couple. The main *erastes* is making the up-and-down gestures and beginning to crouch into an intercrural position. The highly muscular *eromenos* is holding his down-gesture wrist; indeed the advanced phase of the sexual relation in this scene would tend to confirm that, even when this involves the down-gesture wrist, it is a gesture of acceptance, rather than resistance. The *erastai* have two dogs with them, connecting them to the hunt, and two of them carry gifts of fighting-cocks; the one to the left of the central *erastes* is dancing, bringing in sympotic/komastic associations. The focus of our attention in the scene is, however, the down-gesture made by the *erastes* to the right of the *eromenos*: this is clearly aimed at his buttocks, if not his anus.

There are several other such examples in black-figure.⁵ Like intercrural scenes, such hints are rarer in red-figure, but vase 3.7 (Toledo, Ohio 64.126) presents a singular example. Here a youth is playing a lyre, and a bearded *erastes* follows him, possibly dancing in a komastic procession led by the youth. The *erastes* is in the almost seated intercrural posture of vase 1.13. There is, however, a signal difference in this case: this *erastes* approaches the *eromenos* from the rear. Although his penis is not visible, his outstretched leg and cane both function as stand-ins for it;⁶ they are lifted up and cut across the *eromenos*' buttocks at a markedly phallic angle.

Finally, anal intercourse is portrayed twice in pederastic scenes, or in what seem to be pederastic scenes. In the case of vase

2.11, we have argued that the scenes on it may possibly represent an ensemble of disapproved activities—or a pederastic bordello. There is, however, no reason to suspect any such thing



Figure 3.6 Amphora of Group E. Photo: Archivio Fotografico della Direzione dei Musei dello Stato della Città del Vaticano.

with regard to vase 3.8 (private collection). In this scene, anal intercourse is integrated into a scene of mixed courtship iconographies. The central figure, a youth, holds a hare in one

hand, connecting the copulating couples on either side of him to courtship by gifts. The couple to his left consists of a bearded *erastes* and a slender youth, engaged in intercrural intercourse. The couple to the right consists of a larger youth, with massive thighs and chest, and a slighter youth, comparable to the one in the left-hand couple. The slighter youth is bent-over and braces himself against a structural support of some kind, and the larger youth bends over him and penetrates him anally.

What does this scene imply? It is hard to say, given the lack of comparanda, but in any case, its painter does not seem to envision a sharp contrast between the two forms of intercourse. This, of course, poses a difficulty for any



Figure 3.7 Kylix by the Foundry Painter. Toledo Museum of Art, Purchased with funds from the Libbey Endowment, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey, 1964.126. Photo: Toledo Museum of Art.

definition of the pederastic ethos that relies on such a contrast. How can we—who have cautiously endorsed such a contrast—account for this scene?

First, the suggestion has been made (Shapiro 2000.18–19) that the scene does make a contrast between the two forms of intercourse: intercrural intercourse, in its vision, is the standard for adult *erastai*, while anal intercourse is permitted for youths. There are in fact several other vases which seem to imply that such a "boys will be boys" ethic existed, and that the stricture against anal intercourse may have been relaxed for youth/youth or youth/boy couples. We illustrate two scenes in which youths of an admirable/attractive sort engage in anal sex, though in the first case not in intercourse. This is vase 3.9 (Turin 4117), on which a symposium or komos is portrayed. As on vase 0.4, there are dancing side-figures here who may be participants in the party. In the center of the scene, three youths engage in a complex, sexual game: the youths on the left and right bend down and squeeze the central youth's erect penis between their buttocks.⁷ Actual intercourse is portrayed on vase 3.10 (Boston 95.61), where, at the far left of an orgiastic scene



Figure 3.8 Hydria, Private Collection. Photography by Bruce White.

(cp. vase 3.4) a crouching youth pulls another youth's buttocks down onto his erect penis.

While these scenes may, however, imply a certain laxity toward anal sex among youths, it must be pointed out that they do not relate to any pederastic scene-type. There are no synecdochic elements in these scenes connecting them to hunting or athletics and no sign that the sexual relations in them are the result of wooing or gift-exchange. Indeed, the only thing these scenes have in common with pederastic iconography is the presence of youthful athletic figures, and even these are different from those in pederastic scenes in a significant way: their genitalia—particularly those of the second figure from left on vase 3.9 and the rightmost youth on vase 3.10—do not conform to the ideal of the immature and non-erect penis. Instead of courtship, these scenes represent group activities of a festive or orgiastic nature, and they relate, iconographically, to a broad set of scene-types that include Satyr scenes and komos scenes. In fact, it may be that by concentrating on the presence of anal intercourse in these scenes, we are missing their more



Figure 3.9 Kylix by the Epeleios Painter. Photo: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Piemonte.

general value for our study. Anal sex may occur, if rarely, in pederastic scene-types, but many other things present in such scenes as these do not, and thus we would argue that these scenes are useful, like the Eurymedon vase, for defining pederastic iconography by contrast.

The list of elements present in vase 3.10, for instance, that are present in no pederastic scene is a long one. Pederastic scenes often contain lines of *erastai* engaged in courting a single youth; they also often contain more than one couple engaged in courtship or sex. There is, however, no pederastic example containing an act of group sex, while in this scene two youths are engaged in sex with the same *hetaira*, and the two youths engaged in anal sex with each other may perhaps be waiting in line—impatiently—for the *hetaira's* services as well.

Moreover, while in pederastic scenes, all of the figures, *erastai* and *eromenoi*, are portrayed as (to a greater or lesser degree) athletically attractive, the *hetaira* in this scene has large, unshapely thighs and buttocks, which, along with her sagging belly and breasts, clearly portray her as ugly. Nor is the *hetaira* only ugly, she is also debased by the youths in the scene, who penetrate her in two different ways that never



Figure 3.10 Kantharos, Nikosthenes potter. Catharine Page Perkins Fund. Photograph © 2007 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

appear in pederastic scenes. The youth on the right has her fellate him, while the one on the left penetrates her with a man-made object of some kind, possibly the nipple of a wine-skin (and a dildo hangs on the "wall" above her, reinforcing this image). Finally, the youth on the right has a purple sandal raised over his head with which to strike the

hetaira , or perhaps with which to threaten her lest she fail to fellate him.

These activities appear in a number of orgy scenes that contain no male– male sex, and which we therefore do not illustrate.⁸ Some of them also appear in Satyr scenes. Indeed, two Satyr scenes contain the only examples in vase-painting of male–male fellatio.⁹ We illustrate one of these, vase 3.11 (Berlin 1964.4), which presents another scene that could serve as a kind of cultural "opposite" for pederastic iconography. This scene represents two couples of Satyrs having sex among grape-vines (and, on the right, a Satyr attempting rear-entry sex with a Sphinx). Here, all of the figures—or at least the Satyrs—are comic and ugly: their shaggy hair and large noses, ears, and lips mark them as such, as the *hetaira's* sagging belly and breasts on vase 3.10 mark her. In the left-hand couple, the right-hand Satyr fellates the other. In



Figure 3.11 Kylix, Pamphaios potter. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. 1964.4. Photography by Jutta Tietz- Glasgow, Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

the right-hand couple, the right-hand Satyr penetrates the left-hand Satyr anally but from the front—a form of intercourse that to our knowledge never occurs elsewhere in vase-painting. Aside from forms of penetration, something else appears here which never occurs in pederastic scenes (except, possibly, for vase 2.1): mutual enjoyment. Both the penetrated Satyr and the fellating Satyr have erections, and the Satyrs engaged in anal intercourse both have their mouths open, so they are either talking or expressing themselves in some vocal way.

As so often, there is one scene that might provide an exception to these conventions. This is vase 3.12 (Villa Giulia 121109). Here a seated youth reaches out to take hold of a naked, small boy with an exceptionally large and semi-erect penis and raises a sandal with which to strike him. There is a *kalos* -inscription between the two figures: the name *Leagros* runs from the youth's stomach to the boy's hand, and the word *kalos* runs perpendicularly down from it. This is the first *kalos* -inscription with a name that we have illustrated; the youth acclaimed in it, Leagros, is the subject of more such inscriptions than any other youth and will be discussed in chapters 5 and 6. Shapiro (2000.29) argues that the boy's calm demeanor and grin show that this is a scene of mutual sado-masochistic pleasure; he also argues that the inscription identifies the boy in the scene as Leagros. If this is correct, the



Figure 3.12 Pelike by Euphronios. Photo: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Lazio, Sezione Etruria Meridionale.

scene would show a key figure in the world of pederastic iconography engaged in two things that appear only in scene-types that seem to represent the opposite of that iconography: mutual enjoyment and sexual violence. The total lack of comparanda makes it difficult, however, to choose between this view and the more traditional one that the boy is a slave (perhaps, as Keuls suggests [1985.285–286] being punished for having sex). We tend, however, to the traditional

view. First, there is another *Leagros kalos* -inscription on the other side of the vase, running next to a youth who is the only human figure in the scene: thus, if the inscription on our side refers to either figure (as it may or may not),¹⁰ we would claim that it must be the youth. The scene, furthermore, does not contain any of the markers of a pederastic scene, such as courting-gifts; indeed, like vases 3.9 and 3.10, the only thing that it shares with pederastic iconography is the youth's athletic build. Instead, the scene shares some elements with orgiastic scenes: the sandal, and also the gesture with which the youth grabs his victim, rather than caressing him. The boy's large, semi-erect penis, furthermore, marks a clear distinction between this scene and pederastic iconography: even in vase 2.1, the *eromenoi*'s penises are markedly smaller than those of their *erastai*. Thus we would argue that the figures in this scene are not a respectable pair of *erastes* and *eromenos*. The youth seems to be a respectable youth, whether or not he represents Leagros; the boy, however, is not his *eromenos*, but, like the *hetaira* on vase 3.10, another less exalted kind of sex-partner.

In any case, there are other orgiastic/komastic scenes that provide clear contrasts with pederastic iconography. The best examples, in our view, come from a series of scenes on vases called Tyrrhenian amphorae. There are, unfortunately, a number of problems with the interpretation of these scenes. Indeed, one could say that it is not even certain that they are germane to our inquiry, in that they may or may not be Athenian.¹¹ The amphorae on which they appear are called Tyrrhenian—from the Greek name for the Etruscans, whence the name of the Tyrrhenian Sea, to the West of Italy—because their shape is that of an Etruscan amphora-type. It is generally believed that they were made in Athens for export to Etruria (see Spivey 1991.141–142), but their relation with Etruria may be even stronger than this. While, as we said above in our discussion of the *Affecter*, a large percentage of Attic vases comes from Etruscan tombs, this is particularly true of Tyrrhenian amphorae, of which all or almost all come from Etruria.¹² There are also strong stylistic and iconographic distinctions between them and other Athenian pottery (see Carpenter 1984.46). Indeed, while we are not ready to pronounce them Etruscan, as some have, we are doubtful about their Athenian provenance.¹³

Nonetheless, these are vase-paintings from the Greek world and strongly influenced by Athenian vase-painting, so nothing prevents one from using them to define the conventions of an Athenian iconography by *contrast*.¹⁴ Indeed, the first of these scenes that we will discuss, vase 3.13 (Heidelberg 67.4), although closer to an Athenian pederastic scene than vases 3.14 or 3.15, will show how precisely the Tyrrhenian vase-painters' vision/version of the homoerotic contrasts with that of the painters of pederastic scenes. In this scene, we see a row of four couples, all in similar positions. In all four, the left-hand figure is a bearded man. In the first three, from left to right, the right-hand figure is a woman, painted white. In the right-hand couple, the right-hand figure is a youth. The bearded men all have erections. Their love-objects' bodies all face away from the men, but all but the leftmost woman turn their faces back toward them to kiss them. There are slight differences between the gestures of each couple. In the first couple from the left, the man is holding the woman off the ground. In the second, the man holds his erection and reaches around to touch the woman's genitals, while the woman holds wreaths in either hand. In the third, the man has his arms



Figure 3.13 Neck-amphora by the Timiades Painter. Antikenmuseum des Archäologischen Instituts Heidelberg Inv. 67/4. Photo: Museum.

around the woman, and she reaches back around his head with one hand. The youth is a little farther away from his lover than the women and seems to be making a dance step or running—although like them, he is preparing to kiss his lover. Unlike the couples in the next two vases, this male–male couple at least follows basic conventions of age-roles in pederastic scenes. Nonetheless, in many ways, it is closer to a couple in an orgiastic scene than to one in a pederastic scene. No courting-gift is visible; the figures are not connected to the gymnasium either by costume or prop; rather than reaching for the youth's genitals, the *erastes* touches his own. More importantly, its relation to the heterosexual couples to the left is the opposite of that between the pederastic and heterosexual couples on vase 3.4: while on vase 3.4, a man has sex with a boy in only one, non-anal position distinct from those that he might use with women, here the women and the boy are analogous sex-objects—and all available for penetration from behind.

The differences that mark the iconography of these Tyrrhenian scenes are even more noticeable on vases 3.14 and 3.15. On vase 3.14 (Orvieto 2664), there is a scene of anal intercourse, with reversed age-roles: a youth (though possibly with a short beard) penetrates a bearded adult anally. It may also be a scene of potential group sex: it is unclear whether the other figures are watching the central action or waiting in line for a turn. The *krater* (mixing-bowl for wine and water)¹⁵ at far right sets the scene at a symposium or komos, a possible setting for pederastic courtship, but all courtship elements are missing. No gifts are present, nor is any other symbol or gesture of courtship. There are no elements connecting the scenes to the gymnasium or hunting. The figures' bodies are not markedly muscular; indeed the figure to the left of the central couple is either deformed or fat. All of the standing males have large penises. They are erect, except for the pendulous, flaccid one of the central fat/deformed figure, which is either circumcised or has its foreskin retracted, an element that appears elsewhere only in comic scenes.¹⁶ All of the figures' postures and gestures are in strong contrast

to those represented in pederastic scenes. While the left-hand *eromenos* in vase 3.8 is penetrated anally, he handles himself with grace, bending over in a clean arc. In this scene, the penetrated partner's head is stretched awkwardly out on the floor—placing further emphasis on his beardedness. The male figure to the right of the copulating couple and the two leftmost figures all masturbate. The second to the left instead has his hands on his hips; he is bending down, in a position which suggests that he too is prepared to be penetrated anally. This last figure presents a particularly strong contrast with the figures in pederastic scenes: while they are strictly divided by role into *erastes* and *eromenos*, he is ready to fulfill two sexual roles, that of penetrator and that of penetratee. Among the vases we have illustrated, only the penetrated and fellating Satyrs on vase 3.11 present parallels to this figure.

Indeed, the scene on side 3.14B of this vase (never before, to our knowledge discussed in this context), confirms that these figures belong to the world of Satyrs. The two scenes seem to be connected: while on side A, there is a symposium, on side B Dionysus, god of the symposium, appears. Behind the seated god, there is a line of two figures, an equivalent or perhaps a continuation of the line of figures behind the central couple on side A. The connection is confirmed by the second figure, who has the pendulous, circumcised penis of one figure on side A while making the buttocks-clutching gesture of another. The figure in front of him, however, though holding his erect penis like two of the komasts on side A, is not a human, but a Satyr, with shaggy mane and tail. Thus, it would seem that the figures on side A not only engage in Satyr-like behavior: the painter sees them as equivalent to Satyrs.

Vase 3.15 (Montpellier S. A. 256) presents many of the same motifs (though without Dionysus and Satyrs). This scene too is set in a symposium or komos: indeed, it consists of a circle of dancers centered on the *krater*. The dancers are mixed bearded/beardless; some have large erections. Here too, one of the adult dancers indicates receptivity to anal intercourse by clutching his buttocks. The two figures at the sides of the *krater* are bent over; the left-hand one may be a woman, but the right-hand one is certainly a bearded man. Both are being penetrated from behind, the woman by a bearded man, the bearded man by a youth. Like an *eromenos* in an intercrural scene, this bearded figure has his attention fixed elsewhere. It is

not, however, pointed



Figure 3.14A Neck-amphora by the Guglielmi Painter. Side A. Museo Claudio Faina, Orvieto. Photo: Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University.

over his lover's head at a gift, like that of the *eromenos* on vase 1.6; instead, it is fixed downward, on the wine which he is drawing for himself—and which apparently has made him oblivious even to his own physical sensations. There are then a broadly linked set of orgiastic scene-types

which constitute an iconographical opposite to pederastic scenes. In them, comic or ugly figures appear, sometimes exclusively (as in vases 3.11, 3.14, and 3.15) and sometimes mixed with attractive figures (as in vases 3.5 and 3.10). Nothing associates the figures in these scenes with idealized activities such as hunting and athletics, and nothing indicates that they engage or have engaged in courtship. They engage in many different sexual activities that do not occur in pederastic scenes, such as masturbation, fellatio, group sex, and sexual



Figure 3.14B Neck-amphora by the Guglielmi Painter. Side B. Museo Claudio Faina, Orvieto. Photo: Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library,

Columbia University.

violence. Anal intercourse plays a prominent role in these scene-types, but its occasional and generally only implicit presence in a few pederastic scenes does not lessen the contrast between the two iconographies. In pederastic scenes, figures associated with highly valued activities engage in erotic relations on the basis of courtship and exchange, both of which may be viewed as forms of or symbolic of respect. In the orgiastic scene-types, instead, debased figures have debased sexual relations on a basis of disrespect and/or a lack of self-respect. Thus these scene-types, whatever the status of anal intercourse, confirm by contrast the idealized status which vase-painting accords to pederasty.

Before passing onto the topic of divine pederasty, we pause to consider a group of scenes which might seem to call into question the difference of



Figure 3.15A Neck-amphora. Photo: Musée Languedocien de la Société Archéologique de Montpellier.



Figure 3.15B Neck-amphora. Detail. Photo: Musée Languedocien de la Société Archéologique de Montpellier.

status between *eromenoi* and other sex partners: scenes or vases which place *eromenoi* and women in analogous positions. The first of these, vase 3.16 (New York 41.162.32) might seem to make a particularly striking parallel.¹⁷ On each side of this vase, there are three figures. On side B, a bearded *erastes* with something like an erection makes the up-and-down gestures to a typically upright *eromenos* while simultaneously dancing (showing single-handedly the same excitement that in scenes like vase 0.4 is symbolized by dancing side-figures); there is a side-figure behind the *eromenos*. On side A, an ithyphallic Satyr is dancing, but his lust is directed—as is most normal for a Satyr—toward a dancing Maenad; in this case, the third figure, Dionysus, stands between the two others. This vase makes a clear parallel between the *erastes* and the Satyr. They

occupy the same position in the scene, and each has an upraised left arm; both are ithyphallic; both are bearded, and both have a wreath hanging from their left arm. We would argue, however, that it also makes a strong contrast between the upright *eromenos* and the dancing Maenad, thereby emphasizing the difference between pederastic and heterosexual relations.

The other three scenes that we illustrate make more precise parallels between boys and women. These are courtship scenes involving *hetairai*. Here, instead, the great contrast is with the treatment of the female figures in such scenes as vase 3.10: indeed, this contrast is so strong that a modern viewer might wonder if the women here are not free women of the elite. Yet as we have mentioned several times, elite women never attended the symposium, and courtship of marriageable women was unnecessary in ancient Athens, as fathers gave their daughters in marriage without consulting them. Thus these figures certainly represent *hetairai*. The scenes that we illustrate, however, seem to make clear parallels between the courtship of *hetairai* and that of *eromenoi*; indeed, if there is a difference between the two groups, it is that the *hetairai* participate more actively in courtship—a difference that does not seem to mark a distinction of status.

On the earliest of these scenes, vase 3.17 (Paris A 479), there is a frieze of courtship scenes, of which we illustrate one section. The scene (although in fact women, even *hetairai*, did not frequent the gymnasium) is set in the gymnasium by objects hanging from the "wall," such as an *aryballos*. We see three couples engaged in courtship by gifts. In all three, the *erastes* is on the left and the courted figure, *eromenos* or *hetaira*, is on the right. All six figures are nude. The left-hand *erastes* offers a stag to his *eromenos*, who holds a spear in his left hand and a wreath in his right. The middle *erastes* offers a hen to a *hetaira* (in white), who holds a flower in her left hand and a wreath in her right. The right-hand *erastes* offers a water-bird to his *eromenos*, who holds an *aryballos* and a spear in his right hand, and a wreath in his left.¹⁸ Many of the markers of the courtship-scene and its praiseworthy participants are here: the male figures are muscular, the *eromenoi* carry gymnasium apparatus, and none of the male figures has an erection. Yet (in contrast to what our orgy scenes



Figure 3.16A Small neck-amphora. Side B. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1941 (41.162.32). Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

might have led us to expect) the *hetaira's* position in the scene parallels that of the *eromenoi*. The only difference is that she and her *erastes* each seem to offer the other gifts; the flower that she holds might of course be a gift that she has received from him, but in the light of the following vase, one might see it as a gift that she is giving.

On vase 3.18 (Berlin 2279), the frieze on the external sides divides into two halves. On one side of the vase, *erastai* court *eromenoi*; on the other, there is a courtship scene with

women. There are similarities between the two sides: for instance, all of the *erastai* are youths, each with a sideburn, and there are no gifts visible in five of six couples. There are, however, also differences. On this vase, the presence of gymnasium markers follows a more naturalistic pattern than on vase 3.17: the pederastic half is set in the gymnasium by gym-kits hanging between each couple, but there are no such markers on the heterosexual side. There are also more figures on the peder



Figure 3.16B Small neck-amphora. Side A. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1941 (41.162.32). Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

astic side: four couples and an extra youth, while on the heterosexual side, there are only three couples. This may be because the pederastic couples are farther along in their courtship, and there is less space between the members. All four *eromenoi* have opened their cloaks, and the couples are engaged in touching each other to some degree, although, as on vase 1.4, each couple is at a different point in courtship. On the heterosexual side, all the figures are fully clothed. In the left-hand and right-hand heterosexual couples, the female makes a conversational gesture, while in the middle couple, she holds a flower out toward the youth. In the two left-hand couples, in which the youths lean away from the female (and even more clearly in the leftmost, in which he is wrapped up to his neck in his *himation*), it seems as if the *hetairai* are courting the youths, rather than the reverse.

The last of these vases, vase 3.19 (New York 23.160.54) not only presents females and youths as parallel objects of courtship, it presents a number of



Figure 3.17 Kylix by the Amasis Painter. Photo RMN © Musée du Louvre—Les frères Chuzeville.

different possibilities for courtship roles. On side A, there are three couples. In the left-hand couple, a bearded *erastes* holds a wreath, presumably to crown a youth who has put his hand on the *erastes*' shoulder—and thus establishing that crowning on this vase represents courtship. In the middle, a female is crowning another female with a wreath. In the right-hand couple, a youth has put his arms around a female who looks away from him. On side B, there is a couple on the left, a lone figure in the middle, and a threesome on the right. In the couple, a youth with a lyre offers a flower to a female who holds a lighted lamp (an object with sexual connotations, due to its evident relation to night). The threesome consists of two females on either side of a naked boy with a lyre; the woman whom the boy faces seems to tickle his nose with something, but it could be a wreath with which she is binding his head, while the woman behind him holds a flower or frond in her hand.

A comparison to literary sources can help us make sense of these images. In Greek literature, women are never portrayed—as they commonly were in modern Western literature of earlier centuries—as without lust: it is essential that they (or the men who are their guardians—fathers, husbands, brothers, etc.) keep their lust under control, but they are not idealized as lacking lust. That role, in Greek culture, was assigned to boys. Indeed, women were generally seen as more lustful than men, or less capable of controlling lust;¹⁹ also,



Figure 3.18A Kylix by Peithinos. Side A. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. F 2279. Photography by Iohannes Laurentius, Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz.



Figure 3.18B Kylix by Peithinos. Side B. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. F 2279. Photography by Jutta Tietz-Glagow, Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 3.19A Kylix by Douris. Side A. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1923 (23.160.54). Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 3.19B Kylix by Douris. Side B. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1923 (23.160.54). Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

a series of texts (though from later periods) identifies the mutuality of sexual desire as a characteristic of heterosexual relations that distinguishes them from pederasty (see introduction, [section 1](#)). Thus it makes sense that *hetairai*, in courtship scenes, should participate in courtship actively, rather than passively receiving attention à la *eromenos* (to coin a phrase!). [20](#) There are also many texts in which boys and women (*hetairai* or others) are considered as analogous objects of desire. [21](#) Although these texts are mainly from the Hellenistic or Imperial periods, this tradition goes back at least to Anacreon, a poet of roughly the period of most of our vases. [22](#) Do these texts help us to evaluate the very different treatment of *hetairai* on such vases as 3.10 and 3.17–3.19, and its possible implications for the status of *eromenoi*? We would propose a very simple answer to this question. Both texts and vases testify that *hetairai* could at times be treated as the equivalent of *eromenoi*. Both also suggest that *hetairai* could be treated in a far less exalted manner; this is particularly clear in vase-painting. [23](#) The clear implication of vase-painting is, however, that *eromenoi*'s status did not

similarly vary. Thus, while these scenes may have positive implications for the status of *hetairai*, they do not in any way lessen the status of the *eromenos*.

Another group of scenes that might be of interest on this score is the few that represent (or in the first case, may represent) erotic relations with slave-boys. The main point here is very clear: there is no body of scenes in which slave-boys are treated in the degrading way in which *hetairai* are treated in such scenes as vase 3.10. We argued above that vase 3.12 belongs to the broad category of orgiastic scenes, and on the interpretation that we tentatively offered, it represents a slave-boy being beaten in a sexual context. He is not, however, being penetrated, let alone being penetrated by a group of men or with a man-made object; nor, of course, is he performing fellatio. His sexual degradation, if that is what is represented, is more implicit than explicit. Aside from this, we know of only one other scene in which a boy-slave may possibly be the subject of some kind of sexual force. This is on vase 3.20 (Karlsruhe 70.395). On side A (which we do not illustrate), there is a peaceful symposium. There are five bearded symposiasts reclining on couches and engaged in various sympotic activities. The leftmost is singing (see vase 0.6), the next plays the double flutes, the third plays *kottabos* (see vase 1.16), the two to the right are drinking. Between the second and third, there is a naked slave, not a boy this time but a youth.

On the other side of the vase, we seem to see the same figures: all five men are there, as is the slave. Their symposium has degenerated, however, into a brawl. The scene divides into two groups of three figures each. On the left, two of the men are fighting, while a third tries to intervene. On the right, the rightmost figure has his right arm around the slave and is dragging him away (not down, as it might seem in the reproduction), while the man on the left of the slave tries to take hold of him. What precisely is going on here? Our historical sources speak of fights over boys as a regular occurrence (see



Figure 3.20 Kylix in the style of Douris. Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe Inv. 70/ 395. Photo: Museum.

Aeschines 1.135), and in one of them, Lysias 3 (*Against Simon*), we hear of violent fights over a slave-boy. It seems not unlikely that something of that kind is represented here, although it is not clear whether the man on the slave's left is fighting to take him for himself or trying to protect him. In any case, even in this extreme case, the worst indignity the slave suffers at the symposiasts' hands (in paint) is to be dragged away, and he suffers none at the painter's hands, who renders him as an athletic youth (with a hair style reminiscent of the youths in black-figure vases such as vase 0.2): he is, in contrast to the *hetaira* of vase 3.10, neither debased nor base. In the two more obviously erotic scenes of which we know involving slave-boys, the boys are also portrayed as muscular and self-restrained, very much in the manner of respectable *eromenoi* . Although neither of them is courted, neither of them is treated with any form of sexual force. This is clearer in the first scene, on vase 3.21 (New York 07.286.47), because sexual contact is explicitly represented. Here we see a bearded symposiast on a couch, surrounded by a team of slave-boys

and *hetairai*. His sexual interest is directed not to one of the latter, but to one of the former, who is adjusting his wreath. While he does so, the symposiast takes advantage of his position to caress his penis. Several things separate this from a respectable courtship scene: in red-figure, an *eromenos* would probably be at least partly clothed, and whether in red- or black-figure, he would receive a gift before allowing access to his genitalia. However, the slave-boy's muscles are carefully delineated, and his penis is small and non-erect. Furthermore, the symposiast does not feel free



Figure 3.21 Kylix by the Hegesiboulos Painter. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.286.47). Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

to abuse or threaten him as the symposiasts do with the *hetaira* on vase 3.10: instead, like Sophocles in the story told in the introduction (section 1), he must employ a ruse to get access to the slave-boy's body.

Another slave-boy is portrayed in some ways analogously to an

eromenos on vase 3.22 (Munich 2410). Indeed, this slave-boy is a model of athletic boyhood, although of the "fit" rather than the exaggeratedly muscular variety; again, his penis is small and non-erect. The symposiast closest to him is gazing into his eyes, and the slave-boy is returning the gaze. Certainly, there is no hint of sexual violence or violation in this scene; instead, this boy, though a slave, demonstrates an emotion highly approved of in *eromenoi*, *anteros*.

Of course—to return to a topic discussed in chapter 2—it is possible that such boys as the one on vase 2.12 are, as many have believed, receiving money in payment for sex. That is, they may be prostitutes and as such, possibly slaves. If, however, this is true, then their case is similar to that of the slaves in vases 3.21 and 3.22: despite their social status, they are portrayed as (or in the cases of 3.21 and 3.22, as like) unsullied members of the elite. What are the implications of these portrayals? It might be thought that they detract from the idealization with which elite *eromenoi* are portrayed: after all, one might argue, any boy, elite or not—and chaste or not—can be portrayed in the same way. We would argue, however, that the implication



Figure 3.22 Stamnos by the Painter of the Louvre Symposion. Photo: Staatliche Antikensammlung und Glyptothek München.

is the opposite. Such was the force of the idealization of beautiful elite boys (or elite boys as beautiful) in Greek culture that the idealizing mode of representing elite boys spread over to other beautiful boys. Whatever these boys' status or activities—and the disapproval to which they theoretically might be subjected—vase-painting's tendency to the idealization of beautiful youths/boys was so strong that it overrode these other concerns.

PEDERASTY AND THE GODS

Andrew Lear

As mentioned in the introduction (section 1) there are pederastic stories (or myths—a Greek word for stories) about several gods. There is also some evidence linking the cults of the gods concerned with the gymnasium and adolescence—Apollo, Hermes, Eros, and Hercules—with pederasty. Some of this evidence is visual. Although, for instance, it is not the case, as was once thought, that the so-called *kouros* statues—statues of idealized nude youths—typical of Greece in the seventh and sixth centuries always represent Apollo, some of them do, and there is clearly a general connection between the cult of Apollo and the eroticized ideal that they represent.¹ Vase-painting too makes a strong connection between the gods and pederasty. On the whole, however, the choice of stories portrayed is more limited than in our textual sources. Mainly, there are scenes in which Zeus seizes or abducts Ganymede and scenes in which the god Eros (or other winged deities from whom it is not always possible to distinguish him) appears in a variety of roles. The other Olympian gods appear almost only in scenes derived from Zeus/Ganymede scenes.

There are a few exceptions. Apollo, as he does in the *kouros* statues discussed above, sometimes appears in the form of an *eromenos*. A particularly clear example of this is on vase 4.1 (Munich 2417). Here Apollo appears as a hunter: this is shown by the bow and arrow (singular) that he carries and by the deer that accompanies him, as the deer accompanies the *erastes* on vases 0.3 and 2.9. His body however is less that of an *erastes* than that of an *eromenos*, and he wears a hair-do that combines the long braids typical of Ganymede with the side-lock typical of black-figure *eromenoi*.

There is also one vase on which Apollo appears as an

eromenos or even as a symbol of all *eromenoi* : this is vase 4.2 (Boston 00.356). Here Apollo, again with long hair and a side-lock, makes a cloak-opening gesture, revealing an *eromenos* ' body, in this case more a boy's than a youth's, although not his buttocks as many *eromenoi* do. Rather, though, than reveal himself to an *erastes* , Apollo reveals himself to a female figure with a lyre, who—given the constant association of Apollo and the Muses—must be a Muse. The Muse holds her lyre at her side and gazes at Apollo with a gesture that might be



Figure 4.1 Psykter by the Pan Painter. Photo: Staatliche Antikensammlung und Glyptothek München.

one of contemplation. What is the relation of this vase to pederastic courtship? Perhaps we can explain it by thinking about such vases as vase O.6, on which an *erastes* sings a poem to or about a beautiful boy. Apollo is not the boy to/about whom an *erastes* sings. Instead, he is the beautiful boy to/about whom poetry itself sings, the archetype of the beautiful boy of poetry. Indeed, it is tempting to give this Muse the name traditionally given to the volume of pederastic poetry in the *Palatine Anthology*, the *Mousa Paidike*—the Muse of Boy-Love. 2

Hermes, the god of the gymnasium, also seems at times to have a relationship to pederasty. Perhaps one should consider him as having not simply the head and genitals of a bearded man but more precisely the head and genitals of an *erastes*. This is certainly the case on vase 4.10, where the herm clearly shows that he participates in the demi-god Pan's excitement.



Figure 4.2 Covered kylix of the Cairo Group. Henry Little Pierce Fund.

Photograph © 2007 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Again, however, the great majority of divine pederastic scenes are scenes of Zeus and Ganymede. We have considered the possibility that vase 2.13 represents this divine couple. On the whole, however, this is a red-figure genre and occurs frequently in the fifth century. Perhaps one could speculate that it replaces the more explicit sexual scenes (up-and-down and intercrural) that largely disappear from pederastic iconography at this time. It is a mode of representing sexuality explicitly in a more restrained era.

It is customary, when discussing these scenes, to focus exclusively on scenes of the abduction of Ganymede.³ There are, however, also a number of scenes in which Ganymede simply plays his function as serving boy. Some of these contain references (by synecdoche) to his abduction; we illustrate one such scene, vase 4.3 (Paris G 224). Here we see Ganymede pouring wine for Zeus. Ganymede does not have any of the characteristics that mark him in abduction scenes, such as braids or long hair. He is, however, sufficiently identified by his activity. Zeus, bearded and wreathed, sits on a chair (presumably his throne) holding a scepter topped with a statuette of his bird, the eagle. The eagle is not just Zeus' bird in general, however: in our textual sources, it is in the shape of an eagle that Zeus abducts Ganymede. The eagle



Figure 4.3 Pelike by the Geras Painter. Photo RMN © Musée du Louvre—Les frères Chuzeville.

thus reminds the viewer of the event (or story) that brought the boy to Olympus.

It is interesting that the synecdoche in vase 4.3 is from the *stories* of Zeus and Ganymede, and not from the iconography of their appearances in vase-painting. In the abduction scenes, Zeus is instead always anthropomorphic (although he often also carries a scepter with this synecdochic eagle).⁴ In fact, he is portrayed as a human *erastes* and Ganymede is portrayed as an *eromenos*—except for a few important elements. There is a typical abduction scene on vase 4.4 (Vienna 652). Zeus, in the

form of a bearded human *erastes* , is on the right; Ganymede, on the left, holds a courting-gift of a fighting-cock out toward him, as many *eromenoi* hold gifts that they have accepted, and he



Figure 4.4 Neck-amphora by the Providence Painter. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien.

opens his cloak to reveal his nude body. Each figure has one characteristic that distinguishes him from the analogous figure in a contemporary courtship scene: Zeus carries a scepter, while Ganymede has long hair—here tied up in a bun—that associates him with black-figure *eromenoi* and thus places him in the past (as might the fighting-cock, which appears in red-figure almost only with Ganymede). The scene is also distinguished from courtship scenes by the figures' gestures. Ganymede has accepted his gift, but he is running away from Zeus: it is not

clear whether his right hand is opening his cloak for Zeus' view or gathering it up to free his legs. Zeus, furthermore, is making none of the gestures of a courtship scene: instead, he is reaching out for Ganymede's shoulder and starting (or so it seems) to run after him.

The contrast between Ganymede's abduction and a courtship scene is made even clearer on vase 4.5 (Naples 3152)—interestingly, by manipulation of the courting-gift's position in the scene, the same means used to distinguish so many different phases of courtship in courtship scenes. However, many elements of this scene contrast with a courtship scene: Zeus approaches Ganymede from behind, he holds him by the arm in a way that



Figure 4.5 Column-krater by the Harrow Painter. Photo: Ministero per i

Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici delle province di Napoli e Caserta.

we have never seen in a courtship scene, and he seems to trap him with his scepter—a strong contrast to the standard *erastes* ' leisurely use of his cane. Ganymede's posture is hard to understand: again, he is walking away from Zeus, but his crossed legs are a bit mysterious. Perhaps he is trying to keep his balance. He has clearly accepted his fighting-cock, but something has happened to him that happens to no *eromenos* in any mortal courtship scene: he has dropped his gift—presumably out of shock at Zeus' aggressiveness.

Two scenes place the abduction of Ganymede in the context of the world of courtship/gymnasium scenes and in so doing emphasize the contrast between divine rape and human courtship. On vase 4.6 (Paris G 123), there is a frieze of courting couples on both outer sides. We illustrate the less damaged side, on which we see two couples of bearded *erastai* and youthful *eromenoi* , plus an extra youth off to the right, perhaps trying to get the right-hand *erastes* ' attention. The right-hand *erastes* is holding a hare behind himself



Figure 4.6A Kylix by Douris. Exterior. Photo RMN © Musée du Louvre—Les frères Chuzeville.



Figure 4.6B Kylix by Douris. Interior. Photo RMN © Musée du Louvre—Les frères Chazelle.

(see vases 1.1, 2.15); we cannot see a gift in the left-hand couple, but it might be in the *erastes* ' missing left hand, which is clearly reaching toward his *eromenos* .

In the tondo of the vase, Zeus carries away a sleeping Ganymede. Again, Zeus carries a scepter, which distinguishes him from a human *erastes* ; this time he too has long hair

and a braid or tress hanging to the side as well. Ganymede has long tresses, worn loose this time. Although asleep, he has his arms under his cloak like an *eromenos* who has not yet accepted a gift. The fact that he is asleep (or under a spell) obviates the need for either a gift or the use of force. The contrast between the scenes on the vase's sides and the abduction is strong, however. The *eromenoi* on the vase's sides are youths, while Ganymede is a boy. They are standing up and conversing, while Ganymede is lying down asleep. Their *erastai* offer or prepare to offer them gifts, while Zeus carries Ganymede away in his arms.

On vase 4.7 (Basel BS 483), on the other hand, Ganymede is awake and in the gymnasium with the other boys, when Zeus bursts in and seizes him. On the side that we illustrate, we see Zeus, with his scepter, putting his arm around the fleeing Ganymede (with long tresses and a hoop, the most typical prop for Ganymede). Two larger boys flee to the left and right. The right-hand boy raises a hand in alarm, the left-hand holds on to his top (and to his top-stick, which is not visible in our illustration).

What do these strong contrasts between Ganymede scenes and courtship scenes imply? Do they, for instance, imply criticism of Zeus as a bad *erastes*? This would seem too simple an interpretation. For instance, on vase 4.5, when Ganymede drops his hare, it does not merely indicate that Zeus fails to follow the conventions of courtship. Instead, it shows us the moment in which Zeus' pretense of being a human *erastes* falls away and the true nature of the divine abduction is revealed. The Ganymede vases neither imply that humans should behave like Zeus nor that Zeus should behave like a human. Instead, they represent the myth with elements of the iconography of courtship scenes in order to show both how divine pederasty is like human pederasty and how it is unlike. The most that they might imply through the contrast is that human *erastai* might desire to behave like Zeus if they were gods—or that they dream of behaving like Zeus, as Ganymede, on vase 4.6, dreams that he is still an *eromenos* being courted in the gymnasium.

Again, however, as we saw in chapter 3, vase iconography does not reflect an entirely codified set of rules about sexuality. Ganymede scenes contrast with courtship scenes, and this contrast seems congruent with the implications of both

iconographies. However, in their peak period, Ganymede scenes also influenced scenes of human *erastai* and *eromenoi*. Vase 4.8 (Paris G 248) presents an interesting example of this trend. There are analogous but different courtship scenes on both sides of this vase. On side A, the *erastes* has a scepter and is therefore Zeus; his *eromenos* is therefore probably Ganymede—



Figure 4.7 Pelike by Hermonax. Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, Inv. BS 483. Photo: Claire Niggli.

though this Ganymede has none of Ganymede's usual characteristics: no long hair, no hoop, no fighting-cock. Instead,

it is the youth on side B who has a fighting-cock, even though this couple—although similar to the other, aside from the scepter and the cock—must be human. Thus this painter shows a human *erastes* behaving like Zeus; or rather, he blurs the distinction between the mythical couple and the human one.⁵ In this same period, there are also a number of Ganymede-type scenes showing other gods involved in courtship and abduction of boys. Interestingly, the most common involve the goddess Eos (dawn), rather than a male god. In myth Eos abducts two different youths, one of whom, Tithonus (for whom she obtains immortality but forgets to obtain eternal youth, with disastrous consequences) is a cousin of Ganymede's; it used to be thought that the many boys that she abducts in vase-painting must be one or the



Figure 4.8A Kantharos of the Schifanoia Group. Side A. Photo RMN © Musée du Louvre—Les frères Chuzeville.



Figure 4.8B Kantharos of the Schifanoia Group. Side B. Photo RMN © Musée du Louvre—Les frères Chazotte.

other of her mythic lovers, but except for a few which are labeled as such, it seems more likely that they are just nameless boys.⁶ We illustrate two pederastic examples of this trend. On one, vase 4.9 (Vienna 3737), we see Poseidon pursuing a fleeing *eromenos*—who is unnamed, although there are *eromenoi* associated with Poseidon in myth (principally Pelops, on whom see the introduction, [section 1](#), and note 11, p. 235). Poseidon, like Zeus, is portrayed as a bearded *erastes*; what distinguishes him is that in place of Zeus' scepter, he holds his trident. While Ganymede in vase-painting has usually already taken his gift from Zeus, Poseidon is still holding his out to his *eromenos*. Instead of a fighting-cock, it is a fish, reflecting, of course, Poseidon's dominion over the sea. On vase 4.10 (Boston 10.185), on the other hand, a god pursues an *eromenos*, without any gift—and in a manner far more crudely sexual than Zeus! Here a young goatherd is fleeing the demi-god (or goat-god) Pan,



Figure 4.9 Column-krater by the Harrow Painter. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien.



Figure 4.10 Bell-krater by the Pan Painter. James Fund and by Special Contribution. Photograph © 2007 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

whose erection makes his intentions clear. The boy seems to have been resting, like the hunter on vase 2.14, at a rural sanctuary of Hermes, but he has caught both Hermes' and Pan's interest.

It is our feeling that both of these last scenes are intended as comic. In the case of vase 4.10, this may be confirmed by the representation, on the other side of the vase, of the hunter Actaeon being eaten alive by his hounds because he has offended Artemis, the goddess of the hunt. A program seems to link the two sides: both represent contact between mortals and rural gods that cause (or may soon cause, on our side) pain to the mortals. It is possible that one side represents a

tragic aspect of this problem and the other a comic; again, Pan's (and Hermes') exposed glans points to a comic interpretation as well.⁷

Scenes in which the god Eros appears are very different from Ganymede scenes. This is not only an iconographical matter. Zeus and Eros are fundamentally different gods. One might say that Zeus is a name, while Eros is a noun. Zeus is a deity with a collection of powers, about whom certain tales are told, often ones of rape/abduction, such as the tale of Ganymede. Eros, on the other hand, is the personification of the life-force whose name he bears; there are certain stories about him, but they are allegories based on the meaning of his name. Thus Eros can appear in a much greater variety of scenes than Zeus, and he can appear at the painter's discretion: he can appear in any scene where the painter considers the force of eros—desire—to be present.⁸ For instance, he can appear in the story of Zeus and Ganymede, as he does on vase 4.11 (Cabinet des Médailles 416). Here we see a naked Ganymede, with his hoop, fleeing right as Zeus, also largely nude, to his left, puts an arm on his shoulder. Eros is to Zeus' left, overseeing the scene: the three main figures are in a line, from left to right, as if the scene represented a chain reaction that starts with Eros.

Like Ganymede scenes, the inclusion of Eros in pederastic scenes is also a



Figure 4.11 Column-krater by the Ariana Painter. Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

red-figure trend, mostly of the Classical period; in the later Classical period, he also appears in marriage scenes and women's domestic scenes (Sutton 1992.26–30). He appears, however, in a great number of pederastic scenes and in a great variety of roles in those scenes—again, as suits the meaning of his name, for who can say where the eros in an erotic relationship resides?

There are also other winged deities in erotic vase-painting at this time. Some of these are doubles or allies of Eros. We can

simply call them Erotes, although they may have their own names, as does the leader of a group of winged youths bearing courting-gifts (a ribbon, a flower, and a hare) on vase 4.12 (London E 440), who is named by an inscription as Himeros (desire), a figure who, either alone or together with Pothos (longing) often accompanies Eros, in literature and art. 9 Others are clearly not Eros. In particular, there are vases that depict another pederastic myth, the story of Hyacinth and the gods who loved him, Apollo and Zephyrus. Indeed, on vase 4.13 (Vienna 191),



Figure 4.12 Stamnos by the Siren Painter. Photo: © Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 4.13A Skyphos by the Zephyros Painter. Side B. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien.



Figure 4.13B Skyphos by the Zephyros Painter. Side A. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien.

both halves of this myth are represented. On one side, we see Hyacinth riding on Apollo's swan (with a faint *kalos* above him). On the other side of the vase, however, we do not see Apollo but a youth who has wings and who must therefore be Zephyrus, reaching out to Hyacinth, perhaps to stop him from flying away.

In fact, in some scenes, we do not know whether the winged figure is Eros or Zephyrus—or some other winged figure.¹⁰ However, it is probably best to assume that any unidentified winged youth or boy is Eros. He is by far the commonest such figure, and it seems likely that a vase-painter would include markers to identify Zephyrus if that is who he intended to portray.¹¹

Again, Eros' role in the scenes in which he appears is very variable (Greifenhagen 1957:53–67). He can appear in the form of an *eromenos*, as he does on vase 4.14 (London E 296). Here he is a boy who shares many of



Figure 4.14 Neck-amphora by the Tithonos Painter. Photo: © Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

Ganymede's characteristics, such as long tresses and a hoop-and-stick; he could be the *eromenos* himself, or a gift-bearer, as on vase 4.12—but if the latter is the case, he bears the gifts to the *eromenos* as an *eromenos*. He can also appear as an *erastes*. On vase 4.15 (Würzburg 487), he appears as a competing *erastes* on both sides of the vase. On the side that we illustrate, Eros talks to a youthful *eromenos* wrapped in his cloak and offers him a wreath, while a youthful *erastes* behind the *eromenos* leans on his cane and holds out a sack. On the other side, it is Eros who leans on his cane

and offers the *eromenos* a gift, possibly an *astragalos* , while the *erastes* on the *eromenos* ' other side attempts to address the *eromenos* . Eros can also, as an *erastes* , be more forcefully sexual. On vase 4.16 (New York 28.167), an Eros (his wing feathers are just visible between his back and the edge of the remaining fragment) who has Ganymede-type long tresses but seems to be youth-height and has a victor's ribbon tied on his arm takes hold of a youth quite similar to himself, but with more neatly ringletted tresses, a cloak over his shoulders and a lyre.¹² The gesture does not have the implied forcefulness of Zeus with Ganymede; however, it is closer to Zeus' gestures than to the gestures of an *erastes* in a courtship scene.¹³ There are also several scenes where Eros performs in-flight intercrural intercourse with an *eromenos* . It is particularly in these cases that scholars conjecture that the winged figure is Zephyrus. We share their hesitation, as this vision of Eros does not fit with that in our literary sources. However, again, there is no evidence that the figure is Zephyrus.¹⁴ We illustrate two such scenes, on vases 4.17 and 4.18. On vase 4.17 (Berlin 2305), Eros, in flight, is holding a boy against him by the back of the thighs. Eros



Figure 4.15 Kylix by the Painter of Würzburg 487. Photo: Martin-von-Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg.



Figure 4.16 Bobbin by the Penthesilea Painter. The Metropolitan Museum, Fletcher Fund, 1928 (28.167). Photograph, all rights reserved, the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

has a boy's body and small, non-erect penis, but he holds the boy in the position for intercrural intercourse. The boy, who has slightly longer, fuller hair than Eros but is otherwise similar, holds his lyre out behind him, as the *eromenos* in vase 4.16 holds his to one side. Vase 4.18 (Boston 13.94) is a fragment, but there are many parallels (such as the *eromenos*' lyre) to vase 4.17, so it seems likely that the winged figure here is the same god. This time, however, he has an erect penis that is

penetrating not only his *eromenos* ' thighs but his cloak, which is rendered as something like see-through. Eros does not only take the roles of *erastes* and *eromenos* , however; he also plays various other roles in pederastic situations, roles that are metaphorical or symbolic. On vase 4.19 (Munich 2669), he plays several such roles. On



Figure 4.17 Kylix in the manner of Douris. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. F 2305. Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

side B (which we do not illustrate), Eros carries a courting-gift, perhaps a piece of meat, as the three Erotes on vase 4.12 did—although the vase's fragmentary state makes it unclear from whom he is carrying it or to whom. In any case, he is a kind of middle-man, the force that performs the transaction of courtship. On the other side, he crowns a singing youth: here instead, he is the force that crowns a performer, i.e. that which makes his skillfulness attractive. Thus he motivates courtship as well as performing it. Finally, in the tondo, he dedicates

flowers/fronds at an altar (with the word *kalos* inscribed at its base, under Eros' feet). At whose altar? We would argue (see Shapiro 1989.124) that this is probably his own. As the singing lesson on side A (and the column on side B) make clear, the scenes on this vase take place in the gymnasium—where music/poetry recitation lessons took place. There was a famous altar to Eros in the Academy, Athens' most famous gymnasium, and it seems likely that the many scenes in which Eros appears at an altar (see also vase 4.22) refer to that altar. Thus it is quite likely that Eros is here sacrificing to his own power, or that the Eros in this scene is sacrificing to the power of the god Eros (or the feeling eros). Two other scenes in which Eros serves in different ways as a middle-man are on vases 4.20 and 21. Both of these vases are from later than most of our



Figure 4.18 Kylix in a style related to Douris. Gift of Edward Perry

Warren. Photograph © 2007 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 4.19A Kylix by the Telephos Painter. Exterior. Photo: Staatliche Antikensammlung und Glyptothek München.



Figure 4.19B Kylix by the Telephos Painter. Interior. Photo: Staatliche Antikensammlung und Glyptothek München.

other vases, vase 4.20 (London E 126) from the late fifth century and vase 4.21 (Paris G 521) from the fourth. Other elements of pederastic iconography have changed by this point. For instance, in vase 4.20 both lovers are nude youths, and it is thus difficult for us to determine who is the *erastes* and who the *eromenos*. Still, it seems most likely, given the history of such scenes, that the figure holding—or perhaps playing—the lyre is the *eromenos*. Thus the right-hand figure is an *erastes* bringing a courting-gift, again perhaps a piece of meat. Eros,

flying from the *eromenos* toward the *erastes* and playing a lyre like the *eromenos* , is thus the force of the *eromenos* ' and his playing's charm: his role here is to attract the *erastes* . On side A of vase 4.21,¹⁵ instead, he flies from *erastes* (or *erastai*) to *eromenos* . The scene is set at a symposium. There are five symposiasts on two couches,



Figure 4.20 Kylix. Photo: © Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 4.21A Bell-krater by the Painter of Louvre G 521. Side A. Photo RMN © Musée du Louvre—Les frères Chuzeville.



Figure 4.21B Bell-krater by the Painter of Louvre G 521. Side B. Photo RMN © Musée du Louvre—Les frères Chuzeville.

with their cloaks only about their lower bodies, like the symposiasts on vases 1.15 and 1.16. On the left-hand couch, there is a beardless youth and a bearded man. On the right-hand couch, there are two beardless youths and, at far right, a bearded man. Both figures on the left-hand couch are playing *kottabos*, looking toward the right; the first youth on the right-hand couch holds a drinking cup and looks toward them. The bearded man on the far right is also playing *kottabos*, looking at the youth next to him, who holds a drinking horn and a drinking cup and looks back toward him. In the middle of the scene, between the two couches, Eros

looks at the men on the left-hand couch and moves rightward, with a tympanum (an instrument like a kettle-drum) in his hand. Presumably the two figures on the right are a couple; the figures on the left are then probably both *erastai* competing for the attention of the youth to the right of Eros. Eros is moving from them to their *eromenos*, carrying the eros in the *kottabos* toasts to their object.

Eros is not always such a peaceful force, however. He not only courts, crowns, charms, and brings messages. He also seizes. On vase 4.22 (Villa Giulia 47214) we see Eros chasing a youth with a stick (or possibly a whip)—and holding his shoulder, as Zeus does with Ganymede on vases 4.5, 4.7, and 4.11. The scene takes place by an altar, perhaps again the altar of Eros in the gymnasium. Like the goatherd on vase 4.10, this youth has been worshipping at the altar and finds himself overwhelmed by the deity. Perhaps Eros has seen a boy of the right age (and beauty) at his altar and has decided to compel him to feel eros, either *anteros* for an *erastes* or perhaps eros for another youth or boy.

Eros' role is the same on vase 4.23 (Berlin 3168), but on this vase we see how a vase-painter could use elements from many different scene-types in



Figure 4.22 Neck-amphora by the Flying Angel Painter. Photo: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Lazio, Sezione Etruria Meridionale.

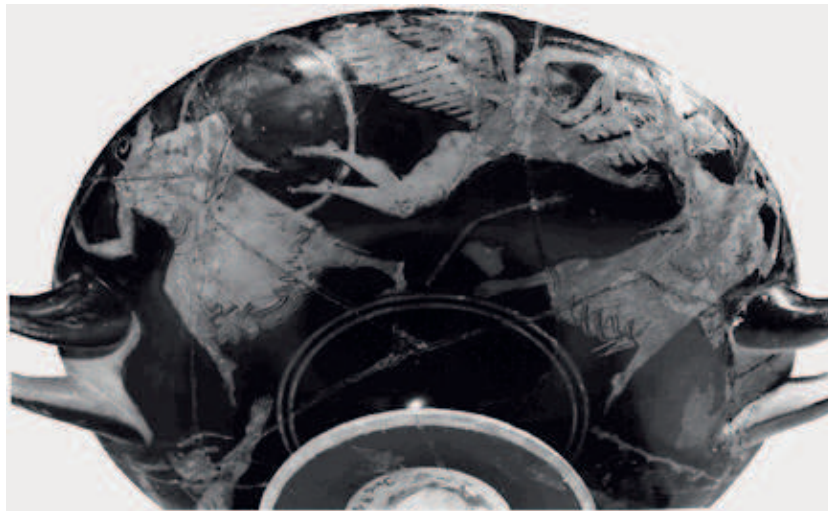


Figure 4.23 Kylix by Douris. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. V. I. 3168. Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

depicting a scene. Here again Eros overwhelms his victim in the gymnasium. Rather than a scene of an individual's encounter with the deity, though, we have a group scene this time, as in the scene in which Zeus seizes Ganymede on vase 4.7. Eros bears down on a youth, and the other youths cower or, like the one (with hoop and stick) to the left in our illustration, flee. This extension of metaphor or allegory works well: not only does the advent of eros in his life overwhelm one boy, but the example terrifies the other boys. There is an element from an altogether different scene-type here too, though. Eros does not attack the youth with a whip but with a sandal;¹⁶ this connects the scene with such sadistic sex-scenes as the ones on vases 3.10 and 3.12 and, like vases 4.17 and 4.18, casts Eros not only as a metaphorical figure but as a participant in his own (erotic) pleasures.

KALOS -INSCRIPTIONS*Andrew Lear*

Our textual sources tell us that boys/youths were praised as *kalos* in graffiti on walls and trees in ancient Greece; a number of the actual graffiti are still extant, from Athens and other cities.¹ Painters began to include such inscriptions in their vase-paintings around the middle of the sixth century; the trend diminished after the Persian wars, though a few inscriptions appear down to the 420s.² These inscriptions are very common: there are about a thousand which name the boy who is being praised; those that merely announce that *ho pais kalos* (the boy is beautiful) are so common that no-one has ever tried to count them.³ Indeed, scenes with *kalos* -inscriptions alone far outnumber all the other scenes of pederastic interest together.

Given the great quantity of these inscriptions, it is almost inevitable that scholars have tried to mine them for information. In particular, scholars have tried to use the names in *kalos* -inscriptions to establish links between vase-painting and Greek history, and to thereby buttress—or challenge—the dating of Greek art (see chapter 6). Others have attempted to find in painters' use of *kalos* -inscriptions evidence for the painters' (and other workers') attitude toward the custom of pederasty. Unfortunately—as is so often the case with vase-painting—the information that *kalos* -inscriptions yield about such issues is largely equivocal. Indeed, there are many mysteries about *kalos* -inscriptions, even apart from their connection to broader issues of Greek history. What is the relation between them and the figures in the scenes in which they appear? What exactly is the meaning of the term *kalos* in them? And what purpose did they serve, if any, at the symposium—or to put it another way, why did painters include them in their scenes?

We start with the issues of the inscriptions' relation to the

scenes in which they appear. This is in a sense the simplest of the questions, in that there is no answer, or no systematic answer possible. We have illustrated several scenes (see vases 1.5, 1.17, 2.12, 4.16, 7.1) in which an inscription seems clearly to refer to a figure in the scene. Yet as we stated in the introduction (pp. 26–27), there are many scenes where this cannot possibly be the case. For example, we cite again the scene mentioned above of a balding man copulating with a *hetaira* ; we recently came upon another in the Claudio Faina museum in Orvieto: a red-figure cup of the fifth century (Orvieto 2575) with the followers of Bacchus on either side—on one a dancing Bacchant, on the other a procession of Satyrs with a donkey which two of them are masturbating—and an inscription of *ho pais kalos* on either side (though in the procession it appears on a wineskin that one of the Satyrs is holding).

It is, furthermore, not only the general relation of these inscriptions to scenes that is varied and ambiguous; there are also individual scenes where it is ambiguous. As an example, we illustrate two sides of a vase, on both of which there is a *kalos* -inscription praising Leagros—as we said in the discussion of vase 3.12, the youth who is praised as beautiful most often in vase-painting.⁴ On vase 5.1 (Berlin 2180), we see a frieze of athletes in the gymnasium. On side A, on the left there is a youth infibulating himself (i.e. tying up his penis, see note 6, p. 244) with a slave-boy in front of him; in the center, there is a youth throwing a discus with a trainer (note his trainer's rod) giving him some instruction with a pointed finger—possibly telling him to infibulate himself, as he seems to be pointing at his penis; to the right, a youth hands his cloak to a slave-boy. There is a simple inscription naming each youth except the leftmost; even the left-hand slave-boy is labeled as *ho pais* —here, without *kalos* , meaning "the slave." Next to the figure on the left is the inscription *Leagros kalos*: given the context, this would seem to be the figure's name, Leagros, extended into a *kalos* -inscription. Thus it would seem that in this case, the *kalos* -inscription names the figure next to it.

The opposite case, however, is just around the corner. On side B of the same vase, there are more athletic figures, also each named. The central one is pouring oil from his *aryballos* onto his hand; the name Hegesias is inscribed next to him. But down at his middle, there is another inscription: *Leagros kalos*

. This is clearly not this youth's name; nor is it that of any other youth, as they are all labeled otherwise. In this case, then, it is clear that the inscription does not name the figure. Does this cast doubt on the meaning of the inscription on side A? In any case, it makes clear that the relation between *kalos*-inscriptions and the figures near which they appear is, at best, ambiguous. ⁵

In this context, it seems useful to point out that even the named portraits in our paintings (or in Athenian art in general) are not individual portraits, in the modern sense, but generic portraits of praiseworthy figures to which the name of a praiseworthy person—or god—is attached. One of the best demonstrations of this is on a plaque from the Acropolis, vase 5.2 (Acropolis 1037). This presents a portrait of a young warrior, nude above the waist but wearing a helmet and bearing spear and shield. The inscription *Glaukytes kalos* runs across the top of the scene, with the youth's helmet in the middle, and therefore seems to identify the warrior as Glaukytes. However, the name Glaukytes has in fact been painted over an earlier name which we can still read under it, Megakles. Megakles was the name of a prominent Athenian



Figure 5.1A Calyx-krater by Euphronios. Side A. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. F 2180. Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz.



Figure 5.1B Calyx-krater by Euphronios. Side B. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. F 2180. Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz.



Figure 5.2 Plaque close to Euthymides. Acropolis 1037. Photo: © DAI Athen neg. Athen Vasen Emil 608.

ostracized (i.e. exiled temporarily by a popular vote, recorded on ostraka—pottery sherds!) in 482, around the time when, according to most scholars, this plaque would have been produced. It is tempting to think that the image's name was changed when Megakles was exiled. Whether this is the case or not, however, we can see that to the Athenian mind, a portrait of a praiseworthy young warrior could serve for any praiseworthy young warrior, be he Megakles or Glaukytes: the portrait was generic, its identity depended on whom the painter

(or his customers) wanted to praise.

Thus, even if the youth on side A of vase 5.1 is associated with the name Leagros, he does not have any of Leagros' particular characteristics. He is a generic beautiful youth; his beauty is enhanced by the association with the name of a famously beautiful youth, and the association with the beautiful figure also serves as a compliment—on top of the one already contained in the inscription—to the named youth.

Yet once more, we must ask, is there such an association? Another scene where there seems to be one is on vase 5.3 (Malibu 82.AE.53). This is a scene where we would like to be as certain as possible of each detail, as it seems possible that it may tell us something about the painter's relationship to his *kalos* -inscriptions. Yet little—at least about the inscriptions—is entirely certain.

This scene presents a frieze of five pairs of male figures. In our illustration, we can see one of these pairs in its entirety and two others partially. One of the pairs, not visible in our illustration, consists of two athletes, one undressing, the other scraping himself down. The others present couples at different stages of courtship (as on vases 1.4, 2.1, 2.11, 2.17, and so on). The



Figure 5.3 Psykter by Smikros. Photo: © The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California.

couple at the most advanced stage is to the right in our illustration. It is the only one of the pairs without inscribed names (unless a *kalos* -inscription to their right refers to the *eromenos*). The couple to the left in our illustration (of which we see the *eromenos* and only one arm of the *erastes*) is the least advanced: as can be seen here, the *eromenos* , wrapped to his chin, is walking away from the *erastes* , although turning toward him. There are two couples engaged in distant caresses, in the manner of up-and-down scenes. In the one which we

do not see, the *erastes*, a youth of the same height as his *eromenos*, is making a classic down-gesture but no up-gesture (see vases 1.5 and 1.12). In the couple in the center of our illustration, the *erastes*, a youth while his *eromenos* is a boy, makes an up-gesture with his right hand but a variant up-gesture with his other hand, caressing the boy's shoulder or head. His *eromenos* responds with a gesture of reaching forward, which, as we saw on vases 1.4 and 2.12, probably betokens acceptance.

This is the couple that interests us: the name Euphronios is inscribed starting from the *erastes*' head and moving forward, bending over the *eromenos*' head. The name Leagros runs downward, parallel to the *eromenos*' back. The word *kalos*, so often associated with that name, parallels it in front of the *eromenos*. Is then this *erastes* Euphronios and this *eromenos* Leagros? ⁶ Opinions vary, but it seems likely that that is the painter's intention.⁷

And in that case, this is a very significant—if still mysterious—scene. Euphronios is the name of a potter and vase-painter. He is not the painter of this vase, but that of vases 3.12 and 5.1—both with *Leagros kalos* -inscriptions. Indeed, as Shapiro (2000.27) points out, there are sixteen vases by (or attributed to) Euphronios with the name Leagros inscribed on them—about half of the vases by this painter. Thus it would seem that the painter of this vase—a colleague or imitator of Euphronios named Smikros (see Neer 2002.101)—seems to be commenting, in this scene, on Euphronios' *kalos* -inscriptions. Is he telling us that Euphronios was in fact Leagros' *erastes*? This seems unlikely. As will be discussed in chapter 6, most scholars agree that the Leagros praised in vase inscriptions was a member of an aristocratic family who later in life became a general.⁸ And, as we said in chapter 2, potters and painters, even if prosperous, were never members of the Athenian elite. What, then, is Smikros telling us? The group of painters to which Euphronios and Smikros belonged—early red-figure painters whom we call the Pioneers—made a habit of inscribing their own and each other's names on their vases (see Neer 2002.87–134). Some of these inscriptions may be jocular,⁹ and it may be that the inscriptions on vase 5.3 too represent a kind of mockery: Smikros could be saying, "you praise Leagros so often that one would imagine you were his *erastes*." ¹⁰ In any case, however,

he connects the person Euphronios with the praise expressed in his *kalos* -inscriptions: Euphronios desires Leagros or desires to be a person who could plausibly desire Leagros.

Thus, if all of our conjectures hold good, this scene suggests that vase-painters participated, if only vicariously, in the elite pederasty that they portrayed on their vases. They did not portray it only because their patrons desired to see it, but also because they too (as perhaps did the women who owned vases 2.9, 4.16, and 7.3) accepted the desirability of boys and the high status of erotic relations between men and boys.

However, again, the relation between *kalos* -inscriptions and the scenes in which they appear is uncertain—and even if it were certain, and we were certain that the names Euphronios and Leagros referred to the figures in this scene, and we were certain of our interpretation of the scene's jocular nature, still this would only be one vase, and, although in this case, there is no direct, contemporary evidence to contradict its implications, it could be exceptional. Other painters' *kalos* -inscriptions could have expressed sentiments to which they felt little or no connection; there is no further evidence on this point.

Leagros kalos -inscriptions play an even more important role in scholarly discussion of the dating of vase-painting. There are, however, a number of issues relating to vase-dating that we wish to discuss, and we have grouped these in chapter 6 . Before turning to them, we will abandon Leagros temporarily and turn to our two other questions about *kalos* -inscriptions: those of their meaning and their use at the symposium.

As stated above, many scholars see the term *kalos* as implying more than physical beauty. In particular, some have argued that it is the "opposite," within Greek culture, of another term, *katapygon* , that appears on a few vases.¹¹ Exactly what *katapygon* means is not clear: etymologically, it derives from the words "down" (*kata*) and "anus" (*pyge*), and most believe that it must originally have referred to a man who was penetrated anally.¹² Yet some of its uses in comedy, where it is common, make clear that it had a less specific meaning, at least by the fifth century: like, for instance, "bastard" in our own culture, it had, or had taken on, a broader negative meaning, which was something like "smart-ass."¹³ In any case, scholars believe that the opposition between these two terms reflects the "problematization" that they believe was typical of

pederasty: a *kalos* boy had to be careful to behave modestly—at least in public—with his *erastes* or *erastai*, because he was always in danger of being called a *katapygon*. There is a small amount of evidence in favor of this idea. At least one, and possibly two, youths are labeled *katapygon* on pottery sherds found in the Athenian Agora who are called *kalos* in inscriptions on vases; ¹⁴ one of the youths, Alkaïos, furthermore, is called both *katapygon* and *kalos* within the same group of sherds, probably the remains of a banquet for public officials from the 460s (see Steiner 2002.371–373). There are, however, also problems with this idea. First, while there are thousands of *kalos*-inscriptions in vase-painting, the total number of *katapygon* graffiti does not exceed ten, and three of them are from the group of sherds where Alkaïos' name appears. Secondly, the graffiti on ceramics are all from the 460s, after the peak period of pederastic vase-painting and *kalos*-inscriptions. Third—and most important—while *kalos*-inscriptions exist both as graffiti and as *dipinti* on vases, there is no case in which a vase-painter painted the term *katapygon* on a vase: those that appear on ceramics are graffiti carved into vases by later hands, probably after the vases had been broken. ¹⁵ Thus it seems an exaggeration to regard *katapygon* graffiti as a phenomenon of the same cultural weight as *kalos*-inscriptions; if they were even aware of them as a possibility, vase-painters never chose to include them in their repertory. Beyond this, the meaning of *kalos* in vase-painting seems to conform to the general Greek view of male beauty: as part of a package that includes modesty and all of the other attitudes/activities of the ideal elite male, it is impossible to separate beauty from virtue. Poetry sometimes associates beauty with bad behavior; ¹⁶ for vase-painting, the ideal boy is always, indivisibly ideal.

What, finally, was the use of these inscriptions within the environment of the symposium? Many scholars in the last century believed that the vases with these inscriptions were commissioned by the *erastai* of the boys named in them (Webster 1972.42–62). Interestingly, there is one vase for which we can see that this may have been the case: in a well in the Athenian Agora, among the property of a man named Agasikrates, a fragmentary vase (Athens National Museum, Agora P 7901, fr. r-f cup which recalls the Gotha cup and Euphronios, ARV 2 1559) was found, with an intercrural scene

and the inscription *Agasikrates kalos*. Perhaps this was a prized keep-sake of Agasikrates' years as an *eromenos*. There is, however, in general little evidence that vases were even generally commissioned by the purchaser,¹⁷ and thus it is unlikely that many *kalos*-inscriptions were made for the boy (or the *erastes* of the boy) that they praise. We consider the theory unlikely for a further reason. Both courting-gifts and drinking vessels are important themes in vase-painting: given vase-painters' love for representing vases, it seems unlikely that if the one were often used as the other, vase-painting would have passed up the opportunity to represent—or even exaggerate—the fact. Thus in this admittedly unusual case the fact that a custom is not depicted in vase-painting argues against its existence.

What else might explain the inscriptions? In considering this problem, we believe that it is important to remember that the ancient Greeks did not read silently. Thus, if an inscription was painted for a sympotic setting, it was inscribed in order that it be spoken at the symposium.¹⁸ Why might one speak the words *Leagros kalos* at a symposium? The authors consider it likely that they were spoken as a toast. Thus the graffiti on the walls of Athens became toasts at the symposium—as perhaps the toasts at the symposium became graffiti on the city's walls. This hypothesis has the virtue of explaining (at least partially) equally all *kalos*-inscriptions, with names and without. The toast *ho pais kalos* after all can have been even more generically useful than a toast to a boy's name: it could praise not only the boy/youth portrayed on the vase—who, beautiful and popular though he may have been, may or may not have been present—but any praiseworthy boy/youth who happened to be at the symposium. Furthermore, inscriptions on vases with images unrelated to the inscription can have served equally for toasting. In effect, in such cases, the inscription is a synecdoche for an unportrayed youth: it invokes/praises the beautiful boy even when he is not portrayed.

We close this discussion with a scene in which the word *kalos* serves as a synecdoche for a *pais kalos*, if in a slightly different manner. On vase 5.4 (Munich 2348), Eros is bearing a hair-fillet, as on 4.19 he bears a wreath, but instead of a youth, here he is crowning a tomb. Given such parallels as vase 4.19, it is clear that this is the tomb of a beautiful boy/youth, but there is an inscription on the tomb that tells us

this as well. It is inscribed with the simple word *kalos* . The way in which a dead youth is praised here does not



Figure 5.4 Pelike. Photo: Staatliche Antikensammlung und Glyptothek München.

involve individual characteristics. It is generic, like the portraits of athletes on our vases, and the generic characteristic that the painter chooses in order to represent all the rest is that the boy/youth was *kalos* : he had the admirable beauty of an *eromenos* , and it is this that underscores the pathos of his

death. 19

6

VASE DATING

Andrew Lear

There has been considerable scholarly debate about the dating of vase-paintings over the last thirty years. In particular, the claim has been advanced that early red-figure vases should be "down-dated" from the traditional dating by between fifteen and thirty years.¹ As this debate does not, on the whole, affect the kind of iconographic interpretation that is at the heart of this book, or, consequently, our general interpretation of vase-painting's view/version of pederasty, we have chosen not to address it in this volume. Indeed, on the whole, in this volume we refer to the dating of vases only to point out trends in the portrayal of pederasty, such as the appearance of the Ganymede scene in the mid-fifth century; it would not change anything crucial in our discussion if this took place somewhat later in the century.

We bring the topic of dating up at this point, indeed, more to point out the importance of pederastic issues in the dating of vases than to point out the importance of dating for our argument. In fact, one of the key points at issue in the debate about vase-dating is the date of the birth of a youth whom we know well from the last chapter, Leagros. Leagros' dates are central to this question, because of all the youths proclaimed as *kalos* on vases of the Archaic period, he can most plausibly be identified with an historical person, the Leagros who was a general at the battle of Drabeskos in 465. The scholars who first established the traditional dating of Greek art believed that they could be even more specific: among the letters attributed to the great Athenian statesman Themistocles, one (*Epistolographi Graeci* 747–750, letter 8) referred to Leagros as "my age-mate and co-ephebe." If Leagros was the same age as Themistocles, then he would have been born around 525, and the earliest vases on which he is called *kalos* would date

to around 510. This then formed one of the key fixed points in their dating system.² Unfortunately, it has since been shown that the letter could be a forgery, and thus Leagros' dates can serve only a very broad role in vase-dating. As it is generally accepted (although on no very strong evidence) that one could be a general between the ages of thirty and sixty, he was probably born between 525 and 495, placing his first *kalos*-inscriptions between 510 and 480. If one wishes to date late Archaic vase-painting at all specifically, one needs to use fixed points other than the dates of Leagros' life.³

There is, however, one further issue relating to dating that we would like to discuss. Or rather, there is one way in which evidence presented in this volume contradicts current scholarly consensus, and we would like to make clear that we intend that contradiction. It has become a commonplace in discussion of pederasty to say that pederasty vanished from vase-painting in the early fifth century; this "fact" has even been used to support the idea that public approval of pederasty declined in Athens under the democracy.⁴ It is, however, simply not the case that pederasty vanishes from vase-painting: pederastic courtship remains a common motif down into the fourth century. It is true that the explicit depiction of pederastic sex, or even foreplay, becomes rare after the 470s (on the traditional dating system); indeed, the more explicit scene-types, the up-and-down and intercrural scenes, appear almost exclusively in black-figure. Explicit depictions of heterosexual sex also disappear in the early fifth century, however; the almost simultaneous disappearance of all explicit sexual scenes seems to point more to a general trend toward prudery rather than to a change in pederasty's status (see Sutton 1992.32–33).

We have illustrated a number of scenes from the mid-fifth century in this volume. The exterior scenes on vase 2.21 are an example of a courtship scene from this later period; they are identical in their principal elements to earlier courtship scenes, though the lyre is more common as a gift in mid-fifth-century scenes than in the Archaic period, as the strigil is in the later fifth century (see below).

We have also illustrated several scenes from the late fifth and fourth centuries, well beyond the terminus generally accepted in contemporary scholarship: vases 2.14, 3.22, and 4.21 are examples.⁵ As we said above, vase 2.14's hunting scene is exceptional at this late date, but these vases otherwise illustrate

several trends in pederastic scenes of their period.⁶ Eros appears in two of these scenes; although he appears in scenes as early as the end of the Archaic period (see for example vase 4.23), his appearance is typical of this later period. It is also typical that the scenes on vases 3.22 and 4.21 take place at symposia; indeed, while explicit sympotic settings are—for no apparent reason—relatively rare in pederastic scenes of the Archaic period (see vases 1.15 and 1.16), they are commoner in these later scenes.

The commonest pederastic scene-type of this later period is, however, a kind of simplified courtship scene that has generally been viewed, hitherto, as a scene of youths conversing in the gymnasium. Our suspicion first fell on these scenes when we noticed that they occurred on the opposite sides of vases from evidently pederastic scenes. There is one, for instance, on vase 6.1 (London F 65), side A of which has long been recognized as a late explicit pederastic (or pederastic-like) sex scene (von Blanckenhagen 1976). To the left in the scene, two youths are preparing for intercourse, probably anal. One



Figure 6.1A Bell-krater by the Dinos Painter. Side A. Photo: © Copyright

the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 6.1B Bell-krater by the Dinos Painter. Side B. Photo: © Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

boy is seated on a chair. He has an erection, and the other boy, with a non-erect penis, is climbing (with the help of a cane) onto his lap to mount it. This scene is exceptional in many respects. Not only is it far later than any other explicit pederastic sex scene, there are very few scenes of intercourse among youths even from the Archaic period (see vases 3.8–3.10), and the position in which these youths are preparing to have sex is entirely exceptional.⁷ The scene's setting is very detailed: on the right, a man wearing a peculiar wreath or crown stands on the porch of an elaborate building, while a woman stands inside the building. Both are watching the two boys, who also wear odd wreaths/crowns similar to the man's. It might seem that these details would help us explain the

scene, but unfortunately we do not know what they signify. What setting does the house to the right indicate? What are the odd crowns that the male figures are wearing? Von Blanckenhagen argued ingeniously that the boys' behavior is a parody of the sex in which the man and woman are about to engage, and that the man and woman's relation is itself a parody of the "marriage" that took place, in some form, between the "queen" (the wife of a city official called the king) and Dionysus at the festival of the Anthesteria (the festival of the new wine)—a festival where such comic high-jinks would be appropriate. Yet such a specific and complicated narrative would in itself be so exceptional in the context of pederastic vase-painting that, without further confirmation, it can only be regarded as an interesting hypothesis: note DeVries' simpler, but equally hypothetical interpretation in the appendix, where this is vase 6.23. Ultimately, the detailed setting only adds to the scene's mysteriousness.

It is, however, the far duller scene on side B that interests us. This scene is set in a gymnasium by an *aryballos* on the wall. Three youths of equal height engage in what scholars have long called "conversation." Yet we will recognize many elements of the pederastic courtship scene here. In particular, the central figure has made the gesture of wrapping himself up to the shoulders (in this case) in his cloak. As the other two figures have their arms free, this gesture clearly indicates something about this one figure; from a comparison with earlier vase-painting, it is clear that he is expressing the sense of shame appropriate to an *eromenos* in the early phases of courtship.

If we compare this scene to a scene like the one on vase 1.10, many elements are missing. The gifts and the height distinction between *erastai* and *eromenoi* are gone (although the latter is already missing in such earlier scenes as those on vase 2.21). ⁸ Also, the variation among the lovers, bearded/unbearded *erastai*, naked/clothed *eromenoi*, and so on, is gone. Even the *erastes*' cane is gone (although it does sometimes appear in this period). The scene has been reduced almost to the schema of its scene-type alone, with only one important gesture, the *eromenos*' wrapped-cloak gesture, to make the scene recognizable.

This reduction should not surprise us, however. We have seen many examples of this device before. It is synecdoche—only this

time, instead of



Figure 6.2A Bell-krater by the Meleager Painter. Side A. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, William Randolph Hearst Collection. Photograph © 2005 Museum Associates/LACMA.

one element from a standard scene-type representing the scene-type, the scene-type represents itself although stripped of most of its elements.

Gifts do appear in other such scenes from the same period, however, and provide further confirmation of our interpretation. One such scene appears on side B of vase 4.21, where the *erastai* both offer the central *eromenos* strigils. Here again,

many elements of earlier courtship scenes are missing. In this case, the wrapped-cloak gesture too is gone; the youths are all similarly dressed. Nonetheless, the figures follow the schema of a competitive courtship scene; the gymnasium setting is marked by the *aryballoi* carried by the two left-hand youths, and by the strigils that both *erastes* -youths offer the *eromenos* -youth. This is not merely "conversation" in a gymnasium, but courtship in the gymnasium.

Indeed, on further consideration, one could say that vase 4.21 represents a compendium of all of the common elements of pederastic iconography of its period. On side B there is a courtship scene at the gymnasium. On side A instead, there is courtship at the symposium. The god Eros is present on side A; indeed it is his presence that makes clear that this is a scene of courtship. We would like, however, to argue that the symposium scenes common to this period in which the guests recline in fairly strict bearded man/beardless youth alternation are pederastic, whether or not Eros is present. We illustrate one more such scene, on vase 6.2 (Los Angeles 50.8.39). Here the order of beardless/bearded alternation is the same as on vase 4.21, though from the directions of their gazes, it seems that both the right-hand and the left-hand pair are couples. The only thing within this scene that indicates that courtship is going on is that in the left-hand couple, the bearded figure has



Figure 6.2B Bell-krater by the Meleager Painter. Side B. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, William Randolph Hearst Collection. Photograph © 2005 Museum Associates/LACMA.

his arm around the beardless figure. In this case, too, however, the god Eros appears, to tell the viewer—at least the modern viewer with his de-pederasticizing gaze—that his force is present: on side B of the vase, he stands between two figures, one of them badly damaged, presumably in the role of an intermediary, although perhaps as a competitor *erastes*.

It is, once more, however, the "conversation scene" that represents the commonest pederastic scene-type of this period, and we close with one more example, vase 6.3 (Vatican 9104). Here, on the pederastic side, we see a courtship scene slightly

less reduced than the other two that we have examined: here both the wrapped-cloak gesture and gifts are present. There are no elements external to the action to indicate a setting, but the gifts—a strigil and an *aryballos*—clearly set the scene in the gymnasium. As on vases 4.21, 6.1 and 6.2, the vase's decorative program underlines the erotic nature of the scene:



Figure 6.3A Bell-krater by the Painter of Louvre G 521. Side A. Photo: Archivio Fotografico della Direzione dei Musei dello Stato della Città del Vaticano.



Figure 6.3B Bell-krater by the Painter of Louvre G 521. Side B. Photo: Archivio Fotografico della Direzione dei Musei dello Stato della Città del Vaticano.

on the other side of the vase, we have Satyrs dancing and an amphora spilled out on the ground, as on vase 1.10, though here, the scene is set among flowering vines, and female Bacchantes dance with the Satyrs. Indeed, one could claim that the scenes on this vase form a program similar to that expressed by Pausanias in his speech in Plato's *Symposium* (180C–185C), written around the period of the vase: on one side, we have demure pederastic courtship, while on the other we have wild, unrestrained, non-pederastic sexuality.

FRAGMENTS

Andrew Lear

This book does not, of course, attempt to give a complete picture of the representation of pederasty in vase-painting. Instead, it is an introduction to the iconographies with which vase-painting represented pederasty and the implications of those iconographies. Our goal, in writing it, was not only to show our readers the vases that we know and explain them but also to prepare them to interpret vases they come upon without our assistance, in any of the many places where vases are found.

Over the years, we have come upon pederastic scenes on vase-paintings in many places: not only on museum shelves, but in store-rooms, in art galleries, in private collections and in drawers of fragments.

Fragments are central to our understanding of the ancient world. In a sense, everything we have from the ancient world is a fragment, a fragment of a lost culture. Some of them consist of entire objects, a book or a vase, but even for these, the context from which they came is largely impossible to re-establish: we do not even know how representative they are. Further, many of the most important bits of information that we have from antiquity are just that, bits, a word from a poet quoted in a dictionary, a bit of papyrus mummy-wrapping containing (from its previous life in a papyrus roll) a few lines of a play.

As is thus inevitable, we have already illustrated several fragments (see vases 1.16, 2.5, and so on), not to speak of vases that have been reconstituted from fragments. In conclusion, we illustrate seven more. These on the whole do not add new points to the arguments made in the previous chapters, but as will be seen, they do contain unusual elements. On the first, vase 7.1 (Boston 10.208), although we can only

see one figure from the shoulders up and a bit of the other, we can see that they are a bearded *erastes* and a beardless *eromenos*, each reaching for his own head. The *eromenos* is taking off his wreath; the *erastes*' gesture is harder to interpret, but perhaps he too is taking off his wreath. The wreath is often used by *eromenoi* in a gesture of acceptance, as we have seen; although we have not illustrated any clear examples, it is also sometimes used by *erastai* as a courting-gift. If, however, the lovers here are exchanging wreaths, that is unusual. The letters



Figure 7.1 Fragmentary kylix by Douris. James Fund and by Special Contribution. Photograph © 2007 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

s-k-a-l-o—clearly the remains of a *ho pais kalos* -inscription—follow the rim of the vase above the figures. In vase 7.2 (Boston 65.873), there is also an inscription, but an unusual one: one of the rare "cartoon bubble" type inscriptions (see vase 0.6). In this scene, we see a bearded man,

apparently with his cloak drawn aside, reaching up to the shoulder of a figure which must, from its cloak, also have been male, and was therefore presumably a youth. It might seem that the man is seizing the boy, as Zeus does with Ganymede, but the man's head is at the level of the youth's shoulder, and we would therefore argue that the scene is instead one of intercrural intercourse, with the *erastes* crouching before his *eromenos*. This is then (if we are right) the only sex-scene in which we hear (or see) the lovers' conversation: the word *eason* (let me) is coming from the *erastes*' mouth, while his *eromenos* is answering him with *ou pausei* (won't you stop?)—expressing precisely the impatience with and lack of interest in sex which our other images have led us to expect. On vase 7.3 (Aegina), we see, instead, the bottom half of our figures, but we can see many elements of a pederastic scene, perhaps one of the scenes in which different couples are at different phases of courtship, although that would be unusual in black-figure. On the left, there is a figure, perhaps a youth, holding either a javelin or a spear and an *aryballos* and thus setting



Figure 7.2 Fragmentary kylix by Onesimos. Helen and Alice Colburn Fund. Photograph © 2007 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

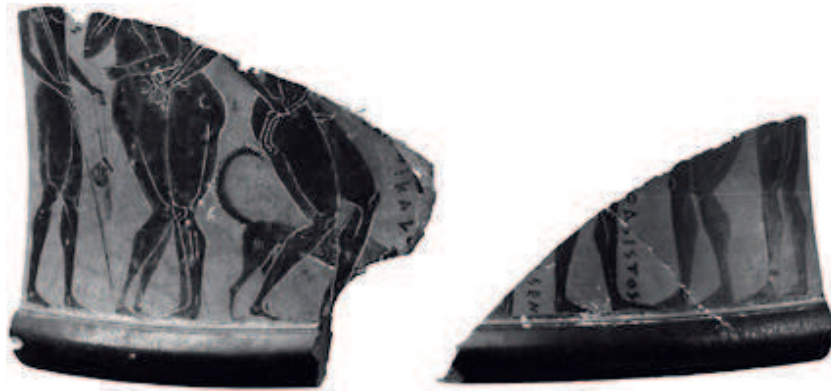


Figure 7.3 Fragmentary tripod pyxis by the Amasis Painter. Aegina. Photo: © DAI Athen.

the scene in the gymnasium. Next to the right, there is a couple engaged in intercrural intercourse. The *erastes* (the left-hand figure) has bent his knees, and he has an arm around his *eromenos*. The figure to the right of them is an *erastes* engaged in courtship. He is accompanied by his hunting-dog, and he holds a hare by the feet with his left hand—he presumably has his ears by the other—in a typical gift-offering gesture. Nothing remains of his *eromenos*, but the letters k-a-l remain of the *kalos*-inscription that no doubt referred to him.¹

The last four of our fragments come from the city of Athens. As we said in chapter 2, few of the fully preserved or restored vases that we study come from Greece; it is particularly surprising how little material is left from the Athenian pot industry in Athens. As these fragments show, however, the themes on the fragments found in Athens are often identical to those found on the grander vases excavated

in Etruria.²

We illustrate one fragment from the excavations in the Agora, vase 7.4 (Agora P 2574). Here we see only the lower parts of bodies and some parts of animals, but we can distinguish two courting couples. In the couple on the left, we can barely see who is *erastes* and who *eromenos*, and we can only say that the gift is an animal (perhaps a hare?). It seems, however, that the left-hand figure is bending slightly to hold something out, while the right-hand figure is totally upright, so it is probable that the left-hand figure is offering the gift to the right-hand figure, who is wrapped up in his cloak. In the couple on the right, we can see a bit more. The left-hand figure leans on



Figure 7.4 Fragmentary kylix. Photo: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations.

his cane and is therefore the *erastes*. The gift is hard to identify: from its tail and posture, it seems to be a live fox, though we know of no other case of a live fox used as a courting-gift. Little can be seen of the *eromenos*, but there is a cheetah (see vases 0.8 and 3.17) behind him.

The last three fragments come from the Acropolis and are

hence from vases that were presumably used in temple dedications.³ The question has been raised whether this means they were especially valuable vases. We do not know: perhaps they merely contained valuable things.

On our first Acropolis fragment, vase 7.5 (Acropolis 758), we see a competition scene. A nude youth *eromenos*, with unusually clearly depicted pubic



Figure 7.5 Fragmentary volute-krater. Photo: © DAI Athen neg. Akr. Vas. 817.



Figure 7.6 Fragmentary kylix in the style of Peithinos. Photo: © DAI Athen neg. Akr. Vas. 838.



Figure 7.7 Fragmentary large vase. Photo: © DAI Athen neg. Akr. Vas. 829.

hair, stands in the middle with his strigil, while two bearded

erastai , without gifts, lean on their canes and make conversational gestures. Either the *eromenos* or the right-hand *erastes* is accompanied by a dog.

On the second, vase 7.6 (Acropolis 248), we see only the middle of the figures' bodies. A nude *eromenos* has accepted a hare from an *erastes* , which he holds by the ears and the back-paws. The *erastes* , who leans on his cane, makes a conversational gesture that seems to involve pointing, perhaps giving instructions (see the trainer on vase 5.1). There is an inscription between the lovers, of which we can only decipher a few letters, and an inscription behind the *eromenos* , of which we can decipher the -alos of *kalos* .

We close with two fragments of a kiss scene, from vase 7.7 (Acropolis 693). In the lower fragment, we can see that the *erastes* is leaning on his cane, and the *eromenos* is at least partly clothed. In the upper, we see the heads of the two lovers. The bearded *erastes* is touching the *eromenos* ' cheek with his right hand, perhaps in a late version of an up-gesture. With the other hand, behind the *eromenos* ' head, he draws him forward for a kiss.

CONCLUSION

Andrew Lear and Eva Cantarella

As we stated at the beginning of this study, our main objective in this book is to compare the written evidence about pederasty with the iconographic sources.

At the end of this study, we have ascertained that in many areas, the iconography confirms the view of the ideology and practice of pederasty that emerges from the textual sources. At the same time, however, the picture we present sometimes diverges from widely accepted scholarly opinions on this subject; to begin with an example that is by no means minor, we have shown (and will explore the related problems elsewhere) that depictions of pederasty do not disappear from vase-painting either at the beginning or the middle of the sixth century, but in fact in the fourth, with the end of figured scenes. More generally, we can say that not only in this area, but in others, our comparison has raised doubts about various aspects of this practice which seem perfectly clear when examined only through literary texts. Yet we should offer a caveat on this point. Some differences may be attributed to the difference between the language of words and that of images. For example, the poetic tradition often speaks of boys' thighs: this is far as a poet can go in terms of socially acceptable language. The vases represent thighs in a way which, at times, clearly suggests or plainly shows the sexual practice of intercrural intercourse which was customary. In this case, the two languages complement each other.

The topic of courtship gifts presents a more complicated case. Depicting courtship, the iconography frequently shows an *erastes* who offers a small gift to the *eromenos*: a fighting-cock, a rabbit, a flower ... In textual sources, references to gifts occur only in comedies, and rarely even there. Why is there a difference?

Once again, an explanation can be found in the difference between the language of poetry and the language of imagery.

The writer (if he is a poet), may conduct a courtship or describe that courtship in many different ways, using many different verbal strategies: he can write in praise of the boy's beauty or virtue, or offer a reproof of his uncertain faithfulness. "Charis," for example, is a word that is often used—an ambiguous term, which can mean various things, from the boy's gratitude or charm to the favors which the *erastes* has done him.

The painter, on the other hand, must find a symbol that represents, in a single image, without words, this relationship and all it means: the moment in which the *erastes* offers the gift, or the *eromenos* accepts or refuses it, serves him as such a symbol.

But in other instances, there are differences that could be evidence of a change over time. For example, in the texts, the locations specified for courtship are symposia, in lyric poetry, and in other sources the palaestra and symposia. However, in vases of the archaic period, the *erastes* and *eromenos* often appear in hunting scenes. In lyric poetry (in which hunting is never mentioned), one may consider this a difference of language: as sympotic poets, the lyrics locate every kind of love at the symposium. But why, if the hunt was an important setting for pederastic courtship, is hunting never mentioned either in the numerous texts that refer to pederasty, in all the epochs that follow the lyric era? The answer may be that after the end of the fifth century, it was no longer customary to court boys during the hunt.

Alongside these cases, in which explanations for the differences can easily be found (if only hypothetically), there are also cases in which the differences are much more difficult, if not impossible, to explain. There are three such cases: the problems of the social valuation of sodomy, of gifts of money, and of the age of the *erastes*.

Considering the first problem, we should bear in mind that in literary texts, particularly Aristophanes and Aeschines, it seems clear that anal sex elicited social disapproval. The most desirable part of an *eromenos*' body—oddly, from a modern point of view—is the thighs. The vases seem in turn to confirm the censure of anal sex and to explain the sexual use of the thighs: the proper sexual relationship between *erastes* and *eromenos*, in fact, is habitually represented as intercrural. By contrast, anal sex is characteristic, in the iconography, of sexual

scenes between Satyrs and orgiastic scenes, where the participants are portrayed as ugly, whether because they are objects of contempt or because they are objects of humor. But, as noted in chapter 3, some scenes do allude to or represent anal sex in the context of traditional courtship. What conclusions can be drawn from this? In the first place, the fact that sexual relations between *erastes* and *eromenos* were not typically represented in terms of penetration does not necessarily mean that penetration was excluded from their relations. Penetration is not shown in matrimonial scenes either. Nevertheless, penetration was necessary in marriage, if only for procreation. Moreover, Aristophanes and Aeschines' criticisms do not strike at anal sex itself, only indulging in it to excess or in exchange for payment. And the silence of the texts, like the reticence of the painters, seems like a kind of euphemism. Thus, it should not come as too much of a surprise that the painters permit themselves at times to represent it.

The second problem is that of courting-gifts. According to Plato, Aristophanes, and Aeschines, the *eromenos* who accepts money or valuable gifts is not a respectable boy. Even though he is not actually a prostitute, he is comparable to one. In courtship scenes that show a gift being offered, however, there are some in which the gift is portrayed as a kind of small sack, which might possibly represent a money-pouch. The easiest explanation for this apparent contradiction is that the contents of the sack are something other than money, perhaps (as mentioned in chapter 2) *astragaloï*. This explanation is, however, by no means certain. Another explanation is that the boy is a prostitute. But as we said in chapter 2, the iconography does not appear to confirm this hypothesis. With the exception of one example, the iconographic context suggests that respectable boys are being depicted. A third explanation is the chronological one: the vases in question are from the late archaic period (the first quarter of the fifth century), while the literary texts that refer to this prohibition come from the last quarter of this century and the fourth century; perhaps customs changed. But clearly, this hypothesis is one that cannot be proven. And the authors find it difficult to imagine such a radical change in sexual ethics in so short a time. The conclusion: a solution cannot be provided for this problem. But it should be noted that, perhaps, the problem doesn't even exist: there is no certainty that in fact the small sack contains

money.

The third problem is represented by the age of the *erastai*. And here there is even less certainty. As we have seen, the social rule that emerges from the texts involves the requirement that the *erastes* be an adult, because only an adult can carry out the pedagogical role expected of him in pederasty. Thus in Aristophanes' *Clouds*, the possibility that the adolescent Phidippides could be an *erastes* is offered as an example of the new, deplorable sexual customs of the late fifth century. In the vases, however, where adults are represented with beards (the Greeks, in fact, with rare exceptions, did not shave), there are *erastai* represented without beards (although, as their size demonstrates, they are generally a little bit older than the *eromenoi*) already in late black-figure vases and in the earliest red-figure vases, which is to say (if we follow the traditional dating) in the last quarter of the sixth century. In this case, the contradiction is much more difficult to resolve: the images appear to contradict a precise rule which, from the texts, seems respected until a much later date. Faced with this situation, we must put aside the problem, and—given the impossibility of formulating hypotheses supported by any document—await new evidence.

These, then, are the more or less apparent problems and contradictions. But we should stress that, however problematic they are, the problems are nonetheless smaller and less important than the convergences between words and images. The convergences, in fact, shed light on various fundamental aspects of pederasty, and contribute to a more defined and clear image of the practice.

Firstly, the vases confirm that, in the view of the Greeks, the pederastic relationship includes and brings together pedagogy and eroticism, exactly as it does in the texts from lyric poetry to philosophy.

Secondly, the vases show that pederasty was an important part of the idealized vision of the life of elite Greek males. Both *erastai* and *eromenoi* were models of values (such as the combination of wisdom, modesty, and moderation which the Greeks called *sophrosyne*), and of behavior and activities, such as the symposium, athleticism, and the hunt. Pederasty helped to define this ideal model of life, on the same level and with the same importance as these other much-lauded activities.

Thirdly, the vases indicate the nobility of the pederastic

relationship through the contrast (which also appears in literary texts) with scenes that represent excessive sexual behaviors, between unattractive individuals whose ugliness, in Greek eyes (as is well-known), signified a lack of nobility.

This shows that not only writers but also painters are aware of the fact that in order to maintain its proper character, pederasty has rules. In the literary texts, for example, the boy should not yield quickly, but should seek to be courted in such a way that he is certain that he is not simply an object of sexual desire; in this way he demonstrates that he is a respectable boy. The vases depict a slow courtship, portrayed in many different scenes, which indicate a kind of sequence, from the moment when the *erastes* shows the gift, to that in which the *eromenos* begins to open his cloak, to that in which the *erastes* offers the gift, to that in which the *eromenos* accepts (or refuses) it, and finally to that in which the *eromenos* offers his thighs. Again, this is represented both in a positive and a negative iconography: the respectable *erastes* does not win the sexual favors of the *eromenos* by force, but through courtship; and he does not use the body of the boy in an excessive or humiliating way. On the other hand, as we also find in the literature (consider the case of Timarchus, in Aeschines' oration against him, or Aristophanes' *Knights*), people who have sex in a vulgar way participate in sexual activities that are unacceptable in pederastic couples.

In the end, it seems important to underline an aspect of the relationship that clearly emerges in the literary realm, apart from anything else, in some verses of the Theognidea:

Boy, you have enslaved my mind. Listen to me, I will not

Say anything unconvincing or displeasing to your heart.

But put up with hearing what I say. You will not have to

Do anything that is not to your liking.

The *eromenos* , clearly, is not represented as a victim or a person who passively submits. He is, instead, a person whose dignity is emphasized not only in the literature but also in vase iconography, and he participates actively in the exchange which is at the foundation of the erotic relationship.

Thus we come to the end of our comparisons. Some of the parallels presented here help to confirm interpretations of the

pederastic relationship for which a broad consensus already exists; others, instead, by bringing in new evidence, seem to support controversial hypotheses. But we do not intend, at this point, to reopen the debate. As stated in the introduction, what we proposed, through the comparison with the iconography, was to enlarge the field of inquiry, providing new evidence for those who concern themselves with this subject: we hope, at the conclusion of these pages, that we have not fallen short of this objective.

APPENDIX

Andrew Lear (based on the research of Keith DeVries)

This appendix consists of a list of scenes of pederasty and other (male) homosexual activities, compiled by the late Professor Keith DeVries. Created (like the current volume) to demonstrate that pederastic scenes were far more numerous and varied than generally believed, the list was to serve as the centerpiece of a book, entitled *Homosexuality and the Athenian Democracy*, which unfortunately Professor DeVries never finished. With the great generosity and openness that were typical of him, however, he lent the list to many scholars over the years, and it has been cited in a variety of works (see for instance Kilmer 1997.37–39). When, near the end of his life, it became clear that he would not be able to finish this book, Professor Sarah Morris suggested that I ask Keith if he would like me to publish it as an appendix in Professor Cantarella and my study, by then almost complete. Again, Keith displayed his usual selflessness and agreed without hesitation. Thus we have the great pleasure of presenting this already much-cited reference source to the scholarly community.

I have not added to this list, and although Professor DeVries himself never finalized it, I have only cursorily checked the Beazley reference numbers; I have updated museum references only for those vases which we illustrate in this volume. My main concern was to prepare the list (a typescript when I received it) for publication. I have, however, greatly abbreviated Professor DeVries' descriptions, both in order to fit the list into an already substantial book and in the hope of making it more useful, by allowing the reader to see at a glance to what category or categories a certain scene belongs. The names used by DeVries for vase shapes do not necessarily correspond with the names I assign in the captions to the figures. I have given only the most basic publication references for each scene: Beazley numbers wherever possible, and only one reference where not (when possible, to the CVA); I have added only

references to illustrations in this volume (while also putting the listings of the vases that we illustrate in bold). Instead of giving complete descriptions, when possible, I have referred to scenes as type a', b', and c' as in the rest of this volume, while at the same time noting major variations on the scene-types. I have whenever possible noted the age-category of the figures in scenes, following Professor DeVries' judgment in distinguishing between "youth" and "boy." In describing courting-gift scenes, I have placed the gifts represented in parentheses. Whenever Professor DeVries mentioned them, I have noted elements connecting scenes to the gymnasium, the hunt, the symposium, or the school-room. In describing scenes by the Affecter and other similar scenes, I have referred to the pursuit (presumably erotic) of a boy or youth by an adult man simply as "pursuit." I have referred to scenes of Zeus pursuing Ganymede simply as Zeus/ Ganymede (while describing other scenes involving these characters more completely).

Notes

1. Most scenes in this appendix fit into one of the three courtship scene-types defined in Beazley 1948. For simplicity's sake, however, we have changed Beazley's types α' , β' , and γ' to a', b' and c', as we do in the preceding chapters. The scene-types are defined as follows: a', courtship scenes in which the adult lover (*erastes*) makes what Beazley called the "up and down" gesture, that is, reaches for or touches the boy's chin and genitals simultaneously; b', courtship scenes in which the *erastes* offers his boy-love (*eromenos*) a courting-gift, or the boy holds a gift that he has accepted; c', scenes which, as Beazley says, are "later" in the courtship, in which the lovers have a kind of intercourse, with the *erastes* ' penis between the *eromenos* ' thighs.
2. Quotation marks round a description indicate that DeVries could not confirm Beazley's description.
3. Slashes, as in y/b, mean that the y and the b are on opposite sides of the vase.

Abbreviations

b
boy
b-f
black-figure
d-gesture
the lower half of the up-and-down gesture
d-wrist
the wrist of the hand making the d-gesture
f-c
fighting-cock
fr.
fragment
h
hare
i
interior
m
adult male
r-f
red-figure
r and l
right and left

u-gesture
the upper half of the up-and-down gesture
u-wrist
the wrist of the hand making the u-gesture
y
youth

1. Ca. 575–550 BC

1.1

Rome, Villa Giulia 16336. B-f Siana cup, C painter. *ABV* 55.74. Both sides: 4 facing m/y pairs.

1.2

Athens, Kerameikos. B-f lekythos, C Painter. *ABV* 58.127, *Add* 2 16. Mixed a' and b', m/y, (f-c; dead h on pole, held by spectator/competitor). Hunt: dead hs.

1.3

Taranto 110339 (20253). B-f Siana cup, Heidelberg Painter. *ABV* 64.13, *Para* 26, *Add* 2 17. Type b', m/b, (f-c). Gymnasium (aryballos), and hunt (dead h and fox).

1.4

London B 600.28. Fr. b-f Siana cup, manner of the Heidelberg Painter. *ABV* 67, middle. Type a', m/y (u-gesture only, y touches m's beard).

1.5

Copenhagen 5180. B-f Siana cup the Painter of Boston C. A.. *ABV* 69.5, *Add* 2 18. Type b' (w/ embrace), m/y (f-c).

1.6

Berlin 3267. B-f plate, Burgon Group. *ABV* 90.6, top, *Para* 33, *Add* 2 24. Around rim, orgiastic scene (w/ anal, fellatio).

1.7

Paris E 876. B-f dinos, Painter of Louvre E 876. *ABV* 90.1 and 683, *Add* 2 24. In upper register, men and ys dancing, some ithyphallic.

1.8

Boston 08.291. B-f lekythos of Deianeira shape, Painter of Boston 08.291. *ABV* 92, top, *Para* 34, *Add* 2 25. In upper register, mixed a' and b', m/y, (f-c, hen?, h, ball, 2 javelins, aryballos, held by spectator/competitors). Hunt: hounds, and hunt scene in lower register. Fig. 2.4.

1.9

Rome market. B-f neck-amphora, Tyrrhenian Group, Castellani Painter (Bothmer). *ABV* 97.25, *Para* 37. Satyrs in orgiastic scene (anal, fellatio?, masturbation/self-priming).

1.10

Louvre E 835. B-f neck-amphora, Tyrrhenian Group. *ABV* 101.82. In upper register, orgiastic dancing (masturbation/self-priming).

1.11

Munich 1432. B-f neck-amphora, Tyrrhenian Group, Guglielmi Painter. *ABV* 102.98. In upper register, side B, orgiastic dancing (hints of anal sex between men) (heterosexual intercourse on A).

1.12

Orvieto 2664. B-f neck-amphora, Tyrrhenian Group, Guglielmi

Painter. ABV 102.100, 684, Para 38, Add 2 27. In upper register, orgiastic scene (anal sex, possibly w/ reversed age-roles, masturbation/self-priming). Fig. 3.14 .

1.13

Heidelberg 67.4. B-f neck-amphora, Tyrrhenian Group, Timiades Painter (Bothmer). ABV 102.101, Para 39, Add 2 27. In upper register, orgiastic scene (preparation for kiss and anal sex, m/y; on l, heterosexual courtship). Fig. 3.13 .

1.14

Montpellier, Société Arch. 256. B-f neck-amphora, Tyrrhenian Group. ABV 102.102, Add 2 27. In upper register, orgiastic scene

(w/ anal w/ reversed age-roles, and heterosexual intercourse). Fig. 3.15 .

1.15

Paris E 838. Fr. B-f neck-amphora, Tyrrhenian Group. ABV 102.106, Add 2 27. In upper register, (scene modeled on) type a', competing ys/ b, and a scene in which m crouches between 2 ys, one of whom masturbates/self-priming.

1.16

Rome, Conservatori 29. B-f neck-amphora, Tyrrhenian Group, Timiades Painter (Bothmer). Para 42. In upper register, type a' (d-gesture only), competing men/b. Human-size f-c.

1.17

Athens, Acropolis 1783. Fr. b-f cup. Beazley 1947.7 (a' 1). I: mixed a' and b', m/b, (flower).

1.18

Kiel B 595. B-f neck-amphora, Tyrrhenian Group, Prometheus Painter (Bothmer). CVA Kiel 1 (Germany 55) 28–29, pl. 9, 1–4. In top register, men in orgiastic dancing, 2 prepare to kiss.

2. Ca. 560–525 BC

2.1

Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 206. B-f amphora, Lydos. *ABV* 109.27, *Add* 2 30. Type a', m/b.

2.2

Nicosia C440. B-f amphora, Lydos. *ABV* 109.28, *Para* 44, *Add* 2 30. Type a' on both sides, ithyphallic m/b, b grasps u-wrist and shields genitals. Dancing figs.

2.3

Copenhagen 13966. B-f lip-cup, Epitimos Painter. *Para* 48. Type c', m/y. Dancing figs.

2.4

Naples 81078. B-f amphora, Painter of Louvre F 6. *ABV* 126.50. B: Satyrs in orgiastic scene (w/ anal).

2.5

Paris F 43. B-f hydria, Ready Painter. *ABV* 130.4, *Add* 2 35. Type b', m/y, (y wrongly restored w/ beard) (f-c; wreath?; 2 hs, meat?, held by spectator/competitors).

2.6

Paris C 10619. B-f neck-amphora, Ready Painter. *ABV* 685, *Para* 53. 3 courting scenes: type a', y/b (w/ erastes' hands on head and chest), type b', competing m and y/b (2 hs), type a', m/b (w/ erastes' hands on chin and chest).

2.7

Leyden xv a 2 (Ro II 89). B-f plate, Ready Painter. *ABV* 131.1, top, 686, *Add* 2 35. Type b', competing men/b, (h and f-c).

2.8

Rome, Vatican 17829. B-f amphora of Group E. *ABV* 134.30, *Add* 2 36. Mixed a' and b', m/b, (b grasps d-wrist) (3 f-cs, held by spectator/competitors, who include a y). Hunt: hound. Fig. 3.6.

2.9

London B 147. B-f amphora of Group E. *ABV* 135.44, 686, *Para* 55, *Add* 2 36. Ys courting each other, based on type a' (one makes u-gesture, one d), possibly also type b' (wreath).

2.10

Lost b-f phiale (?), Amasis Painter (Bothmer). *ABV* 156.77, *Para* 65. Mixed type b' and pursuit, m/y (dead h, held by spectator/competitor). Dancing figs. Hunt: hounds.

2.11

Paris A 479. B-f skyphos, Amasis Painter. *ABV* 156.80, 688, *Para* 65, 90 *Add* 2 46. Type b', m/y (cheetah, f-c, dead h, hen, stag, waterbird) (mixed courtship of women and ys, w/

wreaths and flowers in heterosexual scenes). Fig. 3.17.

2.12

Aegina. Fr. tripod-pyxis, Amasis Painter (Ohly-Dumm). Martha Ohly-Dumm, 1985. "Tripod-pyxis from the Sanctuary of Aphaia on Aegina." In *The Amasis Painter and his World*. Ed. Dietrich von Bothmer. Malibu. Pp. 236–238. Types b' (h) and c', w/ inscription of pederastic poetry. Hunt: hound. Fig. 7.3.

2.13

Helgoland, Kropatschek collection. Fr. b-f band-cup signed, Hermogenes as potter. Type c' (on r, heterosexual intercourse).

2.14

London 1909.2–16.12. Fr. B-f cup, Phrynos Painter. *ABV* 168.2. I: type a'.

2.15

Würzburg 241. B-f amphora, Phrynos Painter. *ABV* 169.5, top, 688, *Para* 70, *Add* 2 48. A: type a', m/y (y grasps u-wrist). Fig. 0.2.

2.16

Basel market. B-f neck-amphora, Botkin Class. Münzen und Medallien *Auktion* 15 (March 14–15, 1975) 46, no. 123. A: type a', m/y. B: type c', m/y. Dancing figs., and hunt (hounds) on both sides (also spear on B).

2.17

Boston 13.105. B-f aryballos, in form of male genitals, signed by Priapos as potter. *ABV* 170.1. On back of handle, type a', m/b.

2.18

Switzerland, private collection. B-f lip-cup, Sokles Painter. *Para* 72.2, *Add* 2 49. I: type a', ithyphallic m/b.

2.19

Rome, Villa Giulia 50653. B-f lekythos, Taleides Painter. *ABV* 175.11. On shoulder, type a', y/b. Dancing figs. On body, type c', m/y, and y holding f-c (competitor erastes?). Dancing figs.

2.20

Princeton 86–53. B-f lekythos, Taleides Painter. *Para* 73, 12 bis. Type c', m/y. Dancing figs.

2.21

Berlin 1773. B-f lip-cup, Painter of the Boston Polyphemos. *ABV* 198.1, *Para* 80, *Add* 2 53. Type c', m/b. Dancing figs.

2.22

Oxford 1885.654. B-f neck-amphora of Nikosthenic shape, Painter N. *ABV* 216.3, *Para* 104, *Add* 2 54. Type a' on both sides, m/b (on A, u-gesture only). Dancing figs. Hunt (hound) on B.

2.23

Paris, Niarchos collection. B-f neck-amphora of Nikosthenic shape, Painter

N. *ABV* 225.6 and 7, *Para* 105. Lower register: mixed pederastic/heterosexual courtship (m/y, m/b). Hunt: hound.

2.24

Rome, Vatican G 14. B-f neck-amphora, *Affecter*. *ABV* 239.1, *Add 2* 60. Necks on both sides: pursuit.

2.25

Oxford 509. B-f neck-amphora, *Affecter*. *ABV* 239.5, *Para* 110, *Add 2* 60. Neck on A: pursuit.

2.26

Würzburg 177. B-f neck-amphora, *Affecter*. *ABV* 239.6, *Add 2* 60. Necks on both sides: pursuit.

2.27

Florence 94576. B-f neck-amphora, *Affecter*. *ABV* 239.7, *Add 2* 60. Necks on both sides: pursuit.

2.28

New York 56.171.17. B-f neck-amphora, *Affecter*. *ABV* 239.8, *Para* 110, *Add 2* 60. Necks on both sides: pursuit (on B, m holds wreath).

2.29

Bonn 42. B-f neck-amphora, *Affecter*. *ABV* 239.9, *Add 2* 60. Neck on A: pursuit.

2.30

Rome, Vatican 339. B-f neck-amphora, *Affecter*. *ABV* 239.10, *Add 2* 61. Pursuit on both sides and both sides on neck (side B: pursuit of adult m).

2.31

New York, Blos Collection. *Para* 111, 10 bis, *Add 2* 61. Necks on both sides: pursuit.

2.32

Boston 99.516. B-f neck-amphora, *Affecter*. *ABV* 239.11, 690, *Para* 110, *Add 2* 61. B: y holds out wreath to seated m (Zeus and Ganymede?). Necks on both sides: pursuit. Fig. 2.13.

2.33

Florence 3862. B-f neck-amphora, *Affecter*. *ABV* 240.12, *Add 2* 61. Under one handle: pursuit. Neck on A: m watching departing y. Gymnasium (aryballos?). Neck on B: pursuit.

2.34

Erlangen I 385. Fr. b-f amphora, *Affecter*. *ABV* 240.14, *Add 2* 61. Neck on B: fleeing y.

2.35

Paris F 20. B-f neck-amphora, *Affecter*. *ABV* 240.15, *Add 2* 61. Necks on both sides: pursuit.

2.36

Tarquinia 629. B-f neck-amphora, *Affecter*. *ABV* 240.16, *Para* 110, *Add 2* 61. Necks on both sides: pursuit of adult m. On side A, a deer (type

b' courting-gift and/or hunt element) is present.

2.37

Boston 13.76. B-f neck-amphora, Affecter. *ABV* 240.17, *Add 2* 61. Necks on both sides: pursuit (on side B of adult m).

2.38

Once Boulogne. B-f neck-amphora, Affecter. *ABV* 240.21, *Add 2* 61. Under one handle, possible courtship scene between 2 adult men, modeled on type a' (one grasps other's wrist, other holds wreath).

2.39

Rome, Torlonia collection. B-f neck-amphora, Affecter. *ABV* 240.22, *Add 2* 61. Both sides: pursuit (and/or courtship, w/ u-gesture) of adult m.

2.40

Boston 99.517. B-f neck-amphora, Affecter. *ABV* 241.25, *Add 2* 61. Under one handle, possible courtship scene, modeled on type a' (u-gesture only).

2.41

Kassel T 679. B-f neck-amphora, Affecter. *Para* 111, 25 bis, *Add 2* 61. Necks on both sides: pursuit. Gymnasium: aryballos (?).

2.42

Once Naples, Bourignon collection. B-f neck-amphora, Affecter. *ABV* 241.26, *Add 2* 61. Necks on both sides: pursuit of y or m (?).

2.43

Munich 1443. B-f neck-amphora, Affecter. *ABV* 241.27, *Add 2* 61. Neck on B: pursuit.

2.44

Perugia 91. Fr. b-f neck-amphora, Affecter. *ABV* 241.29, *Add 2* 61. Neck on B: pursuit.

2.45

Hillsborough, California, Hearst collection. B-f neck-amphora, Affecter. *ABV* 242.33, *Para* 110, *Add 2* 62. Under one handle: pursuit of adult m. Under other handle: Satyr dancing w/ adult m.

2.46

Oxford 1965.126. B-f neck-amphora, Affecter. *ABV* 242.34, *Para* 110, *Add 2* 62. On both sides, possible courtship scenes between adult men, modeled on type a' (both make u or wrist-grasping gesture). Hs present (possible type b' courting-gift).

2.47

Florence 3863. B-f neck-amphora, Affecter. *ABV* 243.39, *Add 2* 62. On shoulder, pursuit.

2.48

Munich 1441. B-f neck-amphora, Affecter. *ABV* 243.44, *Add 2* 62. A: possible courtship scene between adult men, modeled on type a'.

2.49

London B 153. B-f neck-amphora, Affecter. *ABV* 243.45, *Add 2*

62. On A and under one handle: possible courtship scenes between adult men, modeled on types a' and b' (in larger scene, one holds wreath, in smaller, one holds h). Fig. 2.3.

2.50

Philadelphia MS 4852. Fr. b-f neck-amphora, Affecter. *ABV* 244.50, *Para* 110, *Add* 2 62. Neck on B: pursuit of m (adult?).

2.51

New York 57.127. Fr. b-f amphora, Affecter. *ABV* 245.63, *Para* 110, *Add* 2 62. Neck on side A: pursuit of adult m. Neck on B: pursuit.

2.52

Bologna PU 189. B-f amphora, Affecter. *ABV* 245.67, *Add* 2 63. A: type b', m/y (f-c). Hunt: hounds. B: type a', m/y (u-gesture only, erastes ithyphallic).

2.53

Göttingen H 34 and Leipzig T 2404. Fr. b-f amphora, Affecter. *ABV* 246.75, 79, *Add* 2 63. A: pursuit.

2.54

Paris, Niarchos collection. B-f amphora, Affecter. *Para* 111, 85 bis, *Add* 2 64. B: pursuit/courtship (type b', w/ ball or fruit) of adult m.

2.55

New York 18.145.15. B-f amphora, Affecter. *ABV* 247.90, 691, 715, *Para* 111, *Add* 2 64. On both sides, type a' w reversed age-roles (y/m). Fig. 2.2.

2.56

Binghamton, NY. 1968.124. B-f amphora, Affecter. *ABV* 247.91, *Add* 2 64. Both sides: pursuit.

2.57

Taranto 117234. B-f neck-amphora, Affecter. Mommsen 1975 no. 50 (pls. 58–59). Neck on B: pursuit.

2.58

Taranto 117235. B-f neck-amphora, Affecter. Mommsen 1975 no. 51 (pls. 60–61). Neck on A, and side B: pursuit.

2.59

London W 39. B-f amphora, Painter of Berlin 1686. *ABV* 297.16, *Para* 128, *Add* 2 78. 3. M/y couples on each side. A: 1 to r, mixed a' (u-gesture only) and b' (deer); type c' (both figs. ithyphallic); mixed a' (d-gesture only) and b' (f-c, y holds wreath). Rightmost erastes ithyphallic. Hunt: dead h and fox. B: type b' (f-c, both hold wreaths); type c' (both ithyphallic); dancing fig.; type b' (f-c, m holds wreath). R erastes ithyphallic; eromenos touches beard. Fig. 2.1 (A).

2.60

Paris C 11129. Fr. b-f amphora in Group of Leningrad 1469 of Princeton Group. *ABV* 302.5. Both sides: pederastic courtship.

2.61

London B 253. B-f neck-amphora, Swing Painter. *ABV* 308.68, *Add* 2 82. B: type b', m/b (f-c, b holds wreath).

2.62

Paris F 51. B-f hydria, Painter of Louvre F 51. *ABV* 313.1, bottom, *Add* 2 84. 2 courtship scenes. Left panel type a', m/y (y grasps d-wrist): r: m embraces b. Dancing figs.

2.63

Basel, private collection. B-f neck-amphora, Painter of Louvre F 51. *Para* 136, 5 bis, *Add* 2 85. A: mixed types a' and b', m/y (stag held by spectator/competitor).

2.64

Providence 13.1479. B-f neck-amphora, Painter of Louvre F 51. *ABV* 314.6, *Add* 2 85. Both sides: type a', m/y (A: mixed w/ type b') (f-c and hen). Stag present on B (type b' courting-gift and/or hunt element). Fig. 0.3.

2.65

Munich 1468. B-f neck-amphora, Painter of Cambridge 47. *ABV* 315.3, 326.5, *Para* 136, *Add* 2 85. Mixed a' and b' (w hints of c'), m/y (deer, held by spectator/competitor). Y grasps u-wrist and holds wreath. Dancing figs. Fig. 0.4.

2.66

Zürich, Dreifuss collection. B-f amphora, Conservatori Class, near painter N. *Para* 139. A: type a', m/y. Y may be reaching for d-wrist. Hunt: hound.

2.67

Munich 1444. B-f neck-amphora. *ABV* 325, near bottom, *Add* 2 88. Satyrs in orgiastic scene (fellatio).

2.68

Rome, Vatican. B-f olpe. *ABV* 445, near bottom. Type a' (unclear reaching gesture), m/b (b holds 2 wreaths and embraces erastes).

2.69

Rhodes 1350. B-f oinochoe. *ABV* 450.2, bottom. Mixed a' (u-gesture only) and b', m/b (f-c). Hunt: hound.

2.70

Boston 08.31i. Fr. b-f thurible, near the Painter of the Nicosia olpe. *ABV* 454.1, upper middle, *Para* 196, 8, *Add* 2 114. 2 pairs. Both type a', m/y. Dead fox present (type b' courting-gift and/or hunt element).

2.71

Berlin 1774. B-f lip-cup, near the Painter of the Nicosia olpe. *ABV* 454.2, upper middle *Para* 197, 16. I: type a', m/b (b holds wreath). Dancing fig.

2.72

Athens, Agora P 15430. Fr. b-f lekythos, Hermione Group. *ABV* 456.3,

bottom. Y courts b.

2.73

St. Petersburg. B-f lekythos, w some relationship to the work of the Painter of the Carlsruhe skyphos. *ABV* 626, bottom. Type c' and type a' (u-gesture only), ys/bs.

2.74

New York 41.162.32. B-f small neck-amphora. *ABV* 676 (see Anthyle), 714, *Para* 319. B: type a', m/b (u-gesture only). Dancing (erastes); on reverse, dancing Satyr courts Maenad. Fig. 3.16.

2.75

Berlin 1728. B-f tripod pyxis. Beazley 1947.8 (a' 4). On one leg, type a' (d-gesture only), ithyphallic m/b (b reaches for m's chin).

2.76

Munich 2290. B-f tripod pyxis. Beazley 1947.8 (a' 4). On one leg, type b', ithyphallic m/b: Figs. exchange wreaths. Hunt: hound.

2.77

New Haven 1913.122. B-f tripod pyxis. S. M. Burke 1975. *Greek*

Vases at Yale. New Haven. 24–27, no. 30. Leg B: type a', m/b (b grasps d-wrist). Gymnasium: aryballos. Dancing fig.

2.78

Paris F 187. B-f tumbler. Beazley 1947.9 (a' 6). Type a', m/y.

2.79

St. Petersburg 1440. B-f lekythos, Pharos Painter. *ABV* 457. Type a' (w/ figs. wrapped, linked by cloak), m/b (b grasps up-wrist). Dead h present (type b' courting-gift and/or hunt element). Fig. 1.11.

2.80

Boston 08.309c. B-f alabastron of "deflated" shape. E. Vermeule *AK* 12 (1969), no. 3, pl. 6, 1–3. Mixed a' and b', ithyphallic m/b (dancing ys—competitor erastai?—carry 2 f-cs).

2.81

Boston 13.106. B-f aryballos. Beazley 1947.12–13 (a' 20). On both handles: type a'. A: d-gesture only, y/b, y grasps d-wrist. B: double d-gesture, m/y, y reaches for m's chin.

2.82

Munich 2133. Fr. b-f lip-cup. Beazley 1947.13 (a' 24). I: type a', m/b (b grasps u-wrist). Dead h present (type b' courting gift and/or hunt element).

2.83

Athens, Agora, North Slope A-P 386. Fr. b-f lip-cup. Beazley 1947.13 (a' 25). I: fr. type a', m/b.

2.84

Heidelberg 1903. B-f silhouette phiale. CVA Heidelberg 4 (Germany 31), pl. 163, 1. 4 type a' pairs, both erastes (age unclear) and eromenos ithyphallic. Ithyphallic eromenos exceptional, but vase Boeotian: Lear.

2.85

Rome, Guglielmi Collection and Civitavecchia. Fr. b-f amphora. Beazley 1947.17 and 21 (a' 42 and b' 11). Several partially preserved type a' scenes and 1 type b', m/y (f-c). Hunt: dog.

2.86

Boston 08.30d. B-f small stand or knob of lid. Beazley 1947.20-21 (b' 10). Mixed a' (d-gesture only) and b', m/b (f-c). Hunt: dead fox and h.

2.87

Florence (once Vagnonville). B-f "patch band-cup." Beazley 1947.24-25 (c' 2). Exterior: type c', m/y (y holds wreath). Dancing ithyphallic y holding 2 wreaths.

2.88

Athens, Nat'l Museum, Acropolis 2242. B-f sherd. Beazley 1947.25 (c' 6). Type c', m/y.

2.89

Cambridge (U.K.) FMK 1266, on loan from Trinity College (T2). B-f amphora. Beazley 1947.25 (c' 7). Type c'.

2.90

Sèvres 6405. B-f amphora. CVA Sèvres (France 13), pl. 15, 7. Type c', m/y. Dancing figs.

2.91

Paris F 85 bis. Fr. b-f lip-cup. CVA Louvre 8 (France 12) III He, pl. 79, 6. Type c', m/b. Hunt: live hound and h. Fig. 2.5.

2.92

Athens, Agora, North Slope A-P 733. Fr. b-f lip-cup. Beazley 1947.26 (c' 10). I: partially preserved type c'.

2.93

Athens, Nat'l Museum, Acropolis 1761. Fr. b-f lip-cup. Beazley 1947.26 (c' 11). I: partially preserved type c'. Dancing fig.

2.94

Once Rome, Hartwig collection. B-f "band-skyphos, or the like." Beazley 1947.26 (c' 12). Both sides: type c', m/b. Dancing figs.

2.95

Berlin F 1798. B-f band-cup. Beazley 1947.26 (c' 13). Type c', m/ b (w/ 10 heterosexual couplings, incl. possible fellatio). Fig. 3.4.

2.96

Pulsano (Taranto), Guarini collection. Fr. b-f amphora. B. Fedele et al. 1984. *Antichità della Collezione Guarini*. Galatina. 40, no. 3, pl. 31, 3a. A: type a', m/b (b grasps d-wrist).

2.97

Paris E 655. B-f column-krater. Men and ys dancing, w one ithyphallic.
2.98

Parma C 120. B-f amphora. CVA Parma 1 (Italy 45) III H, pp. 3–4
and pl. 2.1. A: type a', m/b (b grasps u-wrist). Hunt: hound. Dancing
fig.

2.99

Orvieto 2800. B-f amphoriskos the Taleides Painter (Wojcik). M. R.
Wojcik 1989. *Museo Claudio Faina di Orvieto: ceramica attica a
figure nere*. Perugia. 96–98, figs. 25.1 and 25.2. Both sides: type a'
(d-gesture only), m/y (on A, y holds wreath; hunt: hound).

2.100

**London market. B-f hydria. Marie Laforet S.A., Vente publique,
June 12, 1980, Geneva, no. 17. Scene of anal sex, y/b; y
holding h (type b' gift); type c', m/b. Fig. 3.8 (now New York,
private collection).**

2.101

New York market. B-f olpe. André Emmerich Gallery, *Art of the
Ancients* 1968.12, no. 10. Mixed a', m/y, and b' (h held by y
spectator/competitor). Eromenos holds 2 wreaths. Hunt: hound.

2.102

Heidelberg 63/9. B-f lekythos. CVA Heidelberg 4 (Germany 31) pl. 169,
1–4. 2 type b' pairs, m/y (f-cs) (men grasp eromenoi's wrists).

2.103

Eleusis, from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. B-f Deianeira lekythos.
K. Schauenburg. *AA* 1965.850, n. 1. Type c', m/b. Hunting: hound.
Dancing fig.

2.104

Paris E 468 or 469. B-f Deianeira lekythos. Type a', m/b, exceptionally
both clothed. 2 dead hs present (hunt element and/or type b' gift).

2.105

Athens, Agora P25014. Sherd from closed b-f vase of uncertain shape.
M. B. Moore and M. Z. P. Philippides 1986. *Agora* XXIII.320, no. 1889.
Type a' (only u-gesture preserved).

2.106

Oxford, MS. University of Mississippi Museum 77.3.72. B-f tripod pyxis.
Koch Harnack 1983, no. 148, fig. 96 a-c. Type a' pair and 2 type c'
pairs, all y/b. To r, m holding f-c (type b' gift). Note that on the 2
other sides of this pyxis, there is a scene of marriage and a scene of
possible female–female erotic bonding.

2.107

Malibu 86.AE.142.1–2. B-f tripod-pyxis. CVA Getty 2 (USA 25) pl. 71, 2.
Leg B: type a', m/b (b holds wreath). Dancing figs.

2.108

Boston 61.110. B-f Hermogenean skyphos. E. Vermeule *AK* 12 (1969),

no. 9, pl. 8, 2 and 4. On both sides: type a', y/b, m/b. Erastai dance. Dancing figs. also. On B, eromenos exceptionally clothed below waist.

2.109

Germany, private collection. B-f Hermogenean skyphos. W. Horn-bostel 1986. *Aus der Glanzezeit Athens*. Hamburg. 48–49, no. 11. On both sides: type c', m/y. Dancing figs.

2.110

Leyden 1956/1. B-f lip-cup. CVA Leyden 2 (Netherlands 4) pl. 59, 7. I; mixed a' and b', m/b (f-c). Dancing fig.

2.111

Boston 63.4. B-f band-cup, Painter of Louvre F 51. Koch-Harnack 1983.104 and 251, no. 60, fig. 40. 4 m/y pairs holding cockfights, w h (type b' gift) between 1 pair. Fig. 2.6.

2.112

Germany, Funcke Collection. Fr. b-f lip-cup. Schnapp 1997.254, fig. 193. I: type c', m/y (y holds wreath). Hunt: 2 hounds.

2.113

Corinth C-50–63 b. Fr. b-f cup. *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 393–394, no. 144, pl. 70. Type a' (only u-gesture preserved, eromenos grasps u-wrist), m/b.

3. Ca. 530–500 BC

3.1

Paris CA 3096. B-f type A cup, Group of Courting Cups. *Para* 82.1. Both sides: type a', m/b (A: 3 pairs, in all b grasps u-wrist. B: 1 pair, dancing fig.)

3.2

Stockholm, Bendicks collection. B-f type A cup, Group of Courting Cups. *Para* 82.3. A: m/b courtship scene (type a').

3.3

Toulouse 26.088 (349). B-f type A cup, Group of Courting Cups. *Para* 82.3. Both sides: m/b courtship scene (type a').

3.4

Altenburg 228. B-f type A cup, Group of Courting Cups. *Para* 82.4. Both sides: type a', m/y. Dancing figs.

3.5

Basel market. B-f eye-cup, Group of Courting Cups. *Para* 82.5. A: m/b courtship scene (type a').

3.6

Basel market. B-f eye-cup, Group of Courting Cups. *Para* 82.6. Both sides: type a', m/b.

3.7

Grenoble. B-f eye-cup, Group of Courting Cups. *Para* 82.7. Both sides: courtship scene (type a') (A: "male"/b. B: y/b).

3.8

Compiègne 1095. B-f eye-cup, Group of Courting Cups. *Para* 82.8. Both sides: type a', y/b. Unusual u-gesture possibly due to overpainting.

3.9

Paris F 139. B-f eye-cup, Group of Courting Cups. *Para* 82.10. Both sides: type a', y/b (A: u-gesture only).

3.10

Barcelona. B-f eye-cup, Group of Courting Cups. *Para* 82.11, *Add* 2 53. Both sides: type a', y/b.

3.11

Stuttgart market. B-f eye-cup, Group of Courting Cups. *Para* 82.12. A: m/b courtship scene (type a').

3.12

Cologne market. B-f eye-cup, Group of Courting Cups. *Para* 82.13. Both sides: m/b courtship scene (type a').

3.13

Paris C 10363. B-f eye-cup, Group of Courting Cups, Barcelona Painter (Villard). *Para* 82.14, *Add* 2 53. Both sides: type a'. A: m/b,

d-gesture only, b ithyphallic! (CVA Louvre 10 [France 17] pl. 105, 1).

B: y/b, u-gesture only.

3.14

Copenhagen Thorvaldsen 66. B-f eye-cup, Group of Courting Cups. *Para* 83.15. Both sides: y/b courtship scene (type a').

3.15

Florence. Fr. b-f eye-cup, Group of Courting Cups. *Para* 83.16. A: y/b courtship scene (type a').

3.16

Toronto 920.68.13 (291). B-f eye-cup, Group of Courting Cups. *Para* 83.17, *Add* 2 53. Both sides: type a', y/b.

3.17

Geneva MF 240. B-f eye-cup, Group of Courting Cups. *Para* 83.18. Both sides: type a', m/b (B: u-gesture only).

3.18

Rome, Guglielmi collection. B-f eye-cup, Group of Courting Cups. *Para* 83.21. B: mixed a' (u-gesture only) and b', m/b (f-c).

3.19

Toronto 920.68.22 (344). B-f skyphos, Ure's Class of Skyphoi A 1. *Para* 83.1, bottom, *Add* 2 54. Both sides: type a' (m/b, y/b).

3.20

Leyden 1955/12, 1. B-f skyphos of Ure's Class, Skyphoi A 1. *Para* 83.2, bottom, *Add* 2 54. Both sides: type a', m/b (A: b holds wreath).

3.21

London, Edler collection. B-f skyphos, Ure's Class of Skyphoi A 2. *Para* 91, middle. Both sides: m/y courtship scene.

3.22

Athens, Nat'l Museum (formerly Empedokles collection). B-f skyphos of Ure's Class of Skyphoi A 2. *Para* 91, middle. A: type b', y/b (f-c).

3.23

Thebes R.18.76. B-f skyphos, Ure's Class of Skyphoi A 2. *ABV* 626.1, top, *Para* 91.12. Both sides: y/b, mixed a' (d-gesture only) and b' (f-c).

3.24

Kurashiki, Japan, Ninagawa Museum. B-f eye-cup, Krokotos Group, with a close link to the Group of Walters 48.42 (within the Krokotos Group). *ABV* 207, *Add* 2 56. I: type c', m/b. Hunt: hound. Dancing figs.

3.25

Rome, Vatican G 66. B-f eye-cup, Group of Vatican G 66, within the Krokotos Group. *ABV* 209.1, middle. Both sides: type a', m/b. Dancing figs.

3.26

Orvieto. B-f amphora, near Painter N. *ABV* 224.5. B: type b', m/b (f-c). Hunt: hound.

3.27

Zürich, Dreifuss collection. B-f amphora, Conservatori class, near Painter

N. *Para* 139. A: "m courting b."

3.28

New York 56.171.24. B-f neck-amphora, Class of Cabinet des Médailles 218. *ABV* 319.7, *Para* 139.2, *Add* 2 86. Neck on B: type a', m/b (d-gesture only).

3.29

London B 262. B-f neck-amphora, Medea Group. *ABV* 321.3. B: 2 pairs, both type a', m/b, one mixed w/ b' (f-c). Right-hand b may be making d-gesture (or may be reaching for m's hand).

3.30

Athens 591. B-f lekythos, Cock Group. *Para* 211. "Y courting b."

3.31

St. Petersburg 4644. B-f lekythos, Cock Group. *Para* 211. Type a', y/b (d-gesture only). B's penis erect: DeVries. Dancing figs.

3.32

Once Milan, Vanzetti collection. B-f amphora very close to the Edinburgh Painter. *Para* 219. A: type c', m/b. Dancing figs.

3.33

Once Rome, Hartwig collection. Fr. b-f eye-cup. Beazley 1947.14–15 (a' 29). Fr. type a', m/y. Y touches m's face?

3.34

Once Rome, Hartwig collection. Fr. b-f eye-cup. Beazley 1947.15 (a' 30). Type a', m/b. B holds wreath and touches m's beard.

3.35

Philadelphia 2497. B-f eye-cup. Beazley 1947.15 (a' 32). A: type a', y/b. B reaches for y's hand?

3.36

Vatican G 67. B-f eye-cup. Beazley 1947.16 (a' 39). Both sides: type a'. Dancing fig. B: b grasps u-wrist?

3.37

Boston o8.292. B-f kantharos. Beazley 1947.16 (a' 41). Both sides: type a', m/b (A: m's hand behind b's head, to prepare for kiss, b touches m's beard; B: m's arm around b's upper body, b jumps into his arms). Fig. 1.17.

3.38

Basel market. B-f skyphos. Beazley 1947.17 and 22 (a' 43 and b' 15). A: mixed a' and b', m/b (f-c). Dancing figs.

3.39

Tarquinia R.C. 8217. B-f amphora. Beazley 1947.21 (b' 12). B: mixed a' and b', m/b (f-c).

3.40

Berlin 2058. B-f eye-cup. Beazley 1947.22 (b' 18). Both sides: m/b, mixed a' (d-gesture only?) and b' (f-c).

3.41

Verona 18 Ce. B-f neck-amphora. Beazley 1947.22 (b' 19). B: mixed a' and b', m/b (f-c). Dancing figs.

3.42

Rome, Villa Giulia 1932. B-f lekythos near the Cock class. Beazley 1947.25 (c' 5 bis). Type c', m/b. B holds wreath? Dancing figs.

3.43

Oxford G 1112. Fr. b-f cup, type A. Beazley 1947.26 (c' 14). A: fr. type c', m/b.

3.44

Athens 1121. B-f lekythos. Beazley 1947.27, below c' 14. Mixed c' (2 ys wrapped in a cloak) and b' (2 f-cs, held by spectator/ competitors).

3.45

Athens 19297. B-f amphora. K. Schauenburg AA 1965.850, n. 1. A: type c', m/b. Hunt: hound. B: type a', y/b. Dancing fig.

3.46

Leyden 1971/3, 1. B-f amphora. CVA Leyden 2 (Netherlands 4), pls. 54, 55. A: 3 dancing pairs of ys, and bs, 3 make type a' gestures, and 2 hold f-cs (type b' gifts).

3.47

Syracuse 9763. B-f amphora. CVA Syracuse 1 (Italy 17) III H, pl. 4, 1-2. Type c', m/y. Dancing m/y pairs.

3.48

Boulogne. B-f amphora. M. Meyer AA 1889.186. Type b', m/b (f-c) (described as Zeus and Ganymede, but without corroborating detail).

3.49

Princeton, Spitzer collection. B-f neck-amphora. B: type c', m/b. Dancing figs. w/ hints of anal sex.

3.50

Basel market. B-f lekythos. K. Schauenburg AA 1965.850, no. 1. Type a', y/y, w/ 2 other facing y/y pairs.

3.51

Toledo 66.110. B-f kyathos, Hanfmann Painter (Eisman). CVA Toledo 1 (USA 17) pl. 30. Type b', m/b (f-c).

3.52

Barcelona 420. B-f Chalcidising eye-cup. CVA Barcelona 1 (Spain 3), pl. 9, 1b. A: type a', y/b. B also reaches for y's chin.

3.53

Westphalia, D. J. collection. B-f cup, the FF class (Gudrian). B. Korzus 1984. *Griechische Vasen aus Westfälischen Sammlungen*. Munich. 65-6, no. 11. B: type a', m/b (d-gesture only). Dancing figs. (Maenads).

3.54

Dunedin, New Zealand E 59.10. B-f eye-cup. CVA New Zealand 1, pl. 31, 8. B: types a', m/b. B also reaches for man's chin.

3.55

Jacksonville, FL, Cummer Gallery of Art AP 66 28. B-f eye-cup, Group of Courting Cups (Shapiro). H. A. Shapiro et al. 1981. *Greek Vases from Southern Collections*. New Orleans. 162–3, no. 64. Type a', y/b. B exceptionally seems to reach for y's genitals.

3.56

Rome, Villa Giulia 79517. Fr. b-f eye-cup, Group of Courting Cups (Hannestad). L. Hannestad 1989. *The Castellani Fragments in the Villa Giulia*. Aarhus. 34 and 111, no. 245. Both sides: type a' y/b (d-gesture only).

3.57

Haverford, PA, Haverford College EA-1989-3. B-f eye-cup, Group of Courting Cups (Ashmead). B: type a', m/b (also possibly on A).

3.58

Orvieto 2596. Fr. b-f eye-cup. CVA Orvieto 1 (Italy 41), pl. 11, 1–2. Both sides: fr. type a'.

3.59

New York market. B-f eye-cup. Catalogue, Royal-Athena Galleries 1990. *One Thousand Years of Ancient Greek Vases (Art of the Ancient World 4)*, 13 fig. 38. A: type b', m/b (f-c). B touches m's chin. B: mixed a' (d-gesture only) and b' (f-c), m/b.

3.60

Salonica. B-f eye-cup. A: type a', y/b (u-gesture only, w/ other hand y grasps b's wrist).

3.61

Reggio Calabria 1067. Fr. b-f eye-cup. G. Vallet 1958. *Rhégion et Zancle*. Paris. 148 and pl. XI, 2. A: type a', m/b (u-gesture only).

3.62

Reggio Calabria 1059. Fr. b-f eye-cup. Vallet 1958.148 (see 3.61). Type b', y/y (f-c).

3.63

Athens 21975. B-f skyphos, Ure's Class of Skyphoi A 1 (DeVries). R. Mistrachi-Capon, ed. 1989. *Eros Grecque*. Athens. 166, no. 93. A: type a', m/b. Dancing fig. Possibly same on B.

3.64

Athens. Fr. r-f plate, Euphronios. *ARV 2* 17.23, *Add 2* 153. I: Hyakinthos on the swan.

3.65

Gotha 48. R-f (int.) and w-g (ext.) cup. *ARV 2* 20, *Para 322*, *Add 2* 153. I: y/b kiss scene. Hound and hare present (type b' gifts and/or hunt elements). Gymnasium: gym-kit.

3.66

Paris G 45. R-f amphora, Dikaïos painter. *ARV 2* 31.4, *Para 324*, *Add 2* 157. 3 y/b pairs in gymnasium. Leftmost y crowns b; central y prepares to kiss b; in rightmost pair, b exercises.

Gymnasium: discus, exercise, crowning. Fig. 2.17.

3.67

Istanbul A 34.2628. Fr. r-f calyx-krater, Pioneer Group. *ARV* 2 33.1. A: 2 type b' pairs, m/b (quail?, flower, f-c). Right-hand m reaches for b's lips.

3.68

Oxford G 138.23. Fr. r-f amphora "of the same type as those of the Pioneer Group, but the style is not Pioneer." *ARV* 2 35.3. A: 2 men from a type b' scene (f-c, cheetah?).

3.69

Paris C 11217 and 11218 and Erlangen 459. Fr. r-f eye-cup, Oltos. *ARV* 2 58.45 and 46, *Add* 2 164. A: Hyakinthos on the swan.

3.70

Naples 2614. R-f cup, manner of Epiktetos. *ARV* 2 79.6. I: type a', m/b (d-gesture only), preparations for a kiss.

3.71

Barcelona. R-f alabastron, Group of the Paidiskos Alabastra. *ARV* 2 101.2, *Para* 331. A: mixed a' (u-gesture only) and b' (f-c), y/b. B: type a' (d-gesture only) and preparation for kiss, m/b.

3.72

Berlin 2279. R-f cup, Peithinos. *ARV* 2 115.2, 1626, *Para* 332, *Add* 2 174. A: 4 courting y/b pairs. In all, y has arm around b, and b grasps other arm. In middle 2 couples, y makes d-gesture as the couple prepares to kiss. B: heterosexual courtship. Fig. 3.18.

3.73

Athens, Nat'l Museum, Acropolis 248. Fr. r-f cup, compared by Beazley to the style of Peithinos. *ARV* 2 116. I: type b', m or y/b (h).

3.74

Bologna 436. R-f cup, Epidromos Painter. *ARV* 2 118.11, *Add* 2 174. Ys together on kline at symposium. Upper y puts leg around lower y and touches his head, while playing kottabos. Fig. 1.16.

3.75

Leipzig T 521. Fr. r-f cup, Apollodoros. *ARV* 2 121.24. I: Hyakinthos on the swan.

3.76

Oxford, MS. R-f cup, Apollodoros. *ARV* 2 121.25. *Add* 2 175. I: Hyakinthos on the swan.

3.77

Turin 4117. R-f cup recalling the Epeleios Painter. *ARV* 2 150.35, 1628, *Add* 2 179. B: ys in orgiastic scene, some ithyphallic; hints of anal sex. Fig. 3.9.

3.78

Athens, Kanellopoulos collection. R-f cup, manner of the Epeleios Painter. *Para* 336. I: 2 ys on kline at symposium, lying together under a blanket, one on top of the other.

3.79

Palermo 2132. W-g mug connected with the Epeleios Painter. *ARV* 2 152.1, *Add* 2 180. Dancing men and ys, one ithyphallic.

3.80

Munich 8954. R-f alabastron, Painter of Berlin 2268. *ARV* 2 1629, *Para* 336, *Add* 2 181. Y/b, mixed a' (d-gesture only) and b' (f-c; wading bird also present). B grasps y's arm.

3.81

Athens, Vlasto collection. R-f alabastron, Painter of Berlin 2268. *ARV* 2 157.86. A: type b', y/b (h) (b grasps y's wrist).

3.82

Rome, Villa Giulia 50458. R-f cup, Ambrosios Painter. *ARV* 2 173.5, *Para* 338, *Add* 2 184. M and y together on kline at symposium. M has arms around y. Fig. 1.15.

3.83

New York 07.286.47. R-f cup, Hegesiboulos Painter. *ARV* 2 175, 1631, *Para* 339, *Add* 2 184. M on kline at symposium fondles penis of slave-boy. Fig. 3.21.

3.84

Athens, Agora P 7901. Fr. r-f cup which recalls the Gotha cup and

Euphronios. *ARV* 2 1559. Fr. type c'. Gymnasium: gym-kit. *Kalos* -inscription to Agasikrates, among whose property it was found.

3.85

Malibu 82.AE.53. R-f psykter, Smikros (Bothmer and Frel). *Add* 2 395. J. Frel 1981. *Greek Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 8, fig. 20. 4 y/b courting pairs. L to r: first, type a' (d-gesture only) and preparation for kiss; type a' (d-gesture only) (b touches y's arm); y looks at departing b, who looks back at him; type a' (double u-gesture) (b reaches toward y's lower body, w/ palm down, in gesture of acceptance). Inscribed names, some w/ kalos, see discussion in text. Fig. 5.3.

3.86

Palermo 2139. Fr. w-g mug (possibly Hegesiboulos Painter: Wehgartner). I. Wehgartner 1983. *Attisch Weissgrundige Keramik*. Mainz. 99–100, no. 3, pl. 33. 3 ys w/ "money-sacks" in hand, and 1 flower (type b' gifts).

3.87

Malibu 85.AE.25. R-f cup, Carpenter Painter (Bothmer). M/b kiss scene. Fig. 1.19.

3.88

Berlin 1964.4. R-f cup, wider circle of the Nikosthenes Painter.
ARV 2 1700, *Para* 334, *Add* 2 177. Satyrs in orgiastic scene
(fellatio, anal). Fig. 3.11 .

4. Ca.505–470 BC

4.1

Frankfurt, Museum für Vor-und Frühgeschichte B 304. B-f lekythos, Capodimonte Group. *Para* 214.5 (identified incorrectly). 2 m/y pairs, 1 type b'(h).

4.2

Athens, Kanepoulos collection. B-flekythos, Gela Painter. *Para* 216. Type c', m/y. Hunt: hound.

4.3

Boulogne 49. B-f lekythos, Class of Athens 581. *ABV* 496.170. M courting y.

4.4

Lugano, private collection. B-f w-g lekythos, Sappho Painter. *Para* 247. Type b', m/b (f-c). Hunt: hound.

4.5

Athens market. B-f w-g lekythos, Diosophos Painter. C. H. E. Haspels 1936. *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi*. Paris. 235, no. 68. Type b', m/b (h, lyre?).

4.6

Athens Nat'l Museum, Acropolis 2280. Fr. b-f w-g lekythos, Diosophos Painter. Haspels 1936.237, no. 105 (see 4.5). Eros and y.

4.7

Once Berlin 2032. B-f w-g lekythos, Diosophos Painter. Haspels 1936.237, no. 108, pl. 37, 1 a-b (see 4.5). Zeus and Ganymede (with Eros prodding Zeus from behind). Ganymede drops f-c.

4.8

Paris market. B-f small neck-amphora, Diosophos Painter. *Para* 249, bottom. A: y/b, possibly type b' (h?).

4.9

Brauron. Fr. b-f w-g alabastron, Diosophos Painter. *Para* 249. A: Eros and b. Hunt: dog. B: type b', only y (erastes or eromenos?) (h; f-c present).

4.10

London, Winslow collection. B-f pelike, Theseus Painter. *ABV* 519.10, *Para* 256. Both sides: m embracing b.

4.11

Tarquiniia 637. Fr. b-f skyphos, near the Theseus Painter. *Para* 259. Dancing men and ys, some ithyphallic, self-priming/masturbation (DeVries sees anal interest w/ reversed age roles).

4.12

Thebes, Rhitsona 80.260. B-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 618.38. A: mixed a' (d-gesture only) and b' (f-c), y/y. Dancing figs.

4.13

Ferrara. B-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 618.39. A: mixed a' (d-gesture only) and b' (f-c), y/b.

4.14

Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 340. B-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 618.40. Both sides: type b', y/b (f-c). Dancing figs.

4.15

Taranto. B-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 618.41. Type b', y/b (f-c).

4.16

Taranto. B-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 618.42. As 4.15.

4.17

Palermo. B-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 618.43. As 4.15.

4.18

Rhodes 13214. B-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 619.44. Both sides: as 4.15.

4.19

Athens, Nat'l Museum, Perachora P. 3735. Fr. b-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 619.45. As 4.13.

4.20

Corinth 1077 b. Fr. b-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 619.46. A: part of b, presumably from standard scene as on 4.15–18.

4.21

Thebes, Rhitsona 112.69. B-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 619.47. A: As 4.13. B: probably similar.

4.22

Thebes, Rhitsona 31.183. B-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 619.48. As 4.21.

4.23

Salerno 1123. B-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 619.49. Both sides: as 4.15.

4.24

Athens, Agora P 2477. Fr. b-f skyphos, CHC Group. *Para* 307.49 bis. As 4.13.

4.25

Taranto. B-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 619.50. A: as 4.15. B: probably similar.

4.26

Syracuse. B-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 619.51. As 4.15. Dancing figs.

4.27

Rome, Vatican, Astarita 41. B-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 711.51 bis. *Para* 306. As 4.23.

4.28

Bayonne 203. B-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 711.51 ter. As 4.23.

4.29

Thebes, Rhitsona 102.87. B-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 619.52. A: type b', m/b (f-c). B: probably similar.

4.30

Providence 11.025. Fr. b-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 619.53. A: as 4.15.

4.31

Thebes, Rhitsona 18.88. B-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 619.54. A: as 4.21.

4.32

Lucerne market. B-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 619.55. *Para* 306. As 4.15.

4.33

Rome market. B-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 619.57. As 4.15.

4.34

Athens 366 (CC 801). B-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 619.58. As 4.25.

4.35

Athens, Agora P 11029. Fr. b-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 619.59. Both sides: fr. courtship (type b'), y/b.

4.36

Palermo. B-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 619.60. Type a' (d-gesture only), y/b (also type b'). Dancing figs.

4.37

Salonica 8.8 (R. 41). B-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 619.61. Both sides: as 4.15.

4.38

Milan market. B-f skyphos, CHC Group. *Para* 307.61 bis. Both sides: courtship, m/b.

4.39

Odessa. Fr. b-f skyphos, compared to CHC Group (Beazley). *ABV* 619, middle. As 4.13.

4.40

Rhodes 12471. B-f skyphos, CHC Group. *ABV* 620.87. B: type a', m/ b (mixed w/ type b').

4.41

Dresden ZV 2957. B-f skyphos, Painter of the Karlsruhe Skyphos. *ABV* 626.2, lower middle. B: type a' (u-gesture only), m/b. Dancing figs.

4.42

St. Petersburg. B-f siphon-vase, near the Painter of the Karlsruhe Skyphos. *ABV* 626, toward bottom. A: type a' (d-gesture only), m/b. Dancing figs.

4.43

Athens, Nat'l Museum, Acropolis 693. B-f fr. of a large vase. Beazley 1947.17 (a' 44). Kiss scene, m/b. Fig. 7.7.

4.44

Bonn 52. B-f cup of uncertain type, perhaps CHC Group. Beazley 1947.23 (b' 41). Both sides: type b' (f-c), m or y/y (mixed w/ type a').

4.45

New York market. B-f lekythos, the Gela Painter. Catalogue, Royal-Athena Galleries 1990.14 fig. 41 (see 3.59). 3 pairs. L to r: m reaches toward departing b who looks back at him; type c', y/m; type b', m/b (flower).

4.46

Boston. Fr. b-f skyphos, CHC Group (DeVries). E. Vermeule *AK* 12 (1969) 12, no. 10, pl. 8, 6. A: as 4.13.

4.47

Thasos. Fr. b-f skyphos, CHC Group (DeVries). *BCH* 105 (1981) 934–5, fig. 15. A: type a' (d-gesture only?), m/b. Dancing fig. B: similar.

4.48

Germany, private collection. B-f skyphos, CHC Group (Hornbostel). Hornbostel 1986.80–1, no. 35 (see 2.109). Both sides: type b' y/y (f-c).

4.49

Corinth CP 1662. Sherd of b-f skyphos, CHC Group (Brownlee). Preserved b from type b' (f-c). Dancing fig.

4.50

Kavala A 4339. Fr. b-f skyphos, CHC Group (DeVries). Misdrachi-Capon 1989.173, no. 100 (see 3.63). As 4.13 (erastes' age unclear). Dancing fig.

4.51

Athens 636. B-f skyphos. Both sides: type b', m/b (f-c).

4.52

Athens 367. B-f skyphos. Both sides: as 4.13. On A, b grasps m's arm.

4.53

Boston 63.119. B-f terracotta ball. Type b', m/b (flower). Hunt:

**hound (exceptionally, held by b), and deer present (gift?).
Gymnasium: athletes exercising. Fig. 2.9.**

4.54

Rome, Villa Giulia 47836. R-f neck-amphora, Kleophrades Painter. *ARV* 2 184.18. A/B: type b', y/b (h).

4.55

Athens, Nat'l Museum, Akropolis 612. Fr. r-f pelike, Kleophrades Painter. *ARV* 2 184.23. A: type b', y/b (tainia). B wrapped up.

4.56

Salerno 1371. R-f hydria, Kleophrades Painter. *ARV* 2 188.67, *Add* 2 188. 2 y/b pairs, 1 b wrapped up. 1 b carries dead h (type b' or hunt element). Gymnasium: gym kit, nudity of 1 b.

4.57

Rome, Villa Giulia 50384. R-f hydria, Kleophrades Painter. *ARV* 2 189.75 and 1632, *Add* 2 189. Type b', y/b (h). B wrapped up.

4.58

Rome, Villa Giulia. R-f neck-amphora, Berlin Painter. *ARV* 2 200.44. A/B: Zeus/Ganymede (f-c).

4.59

Paris G 175. R-f bell-krater, Berlin Painter. *ARV* 2 206.124 and 1633, *Para* 342, *Add* 2 193. A/B Ganymede/Zeus (f-c).

4.60

Lausanne, Zafiropoulo collection. R-f stamnos, Berlin Painter. *ARV* 2 207.143, *Add* 2 194. A: type b', y/b (f-c, lyre?). Hunt: Maltese dog. B: similar.

4.61

Florence 6 B 51. Sherd from a small r-f closed vase, Berlin Painter. *ARV* 2 213.235. Zeus/Ganymede.

4.62

Reggio. Fr. of small r-f closed vase, perhaps oinochoe. *ARV* 2 1635.236 bis. Ganymede with f-c.

4.63

Ferrara 2666 T 539. R-f column-krater, Eucharides Painter. *ARV* 2 228.27. A/B: Zephyros/Hyakinthos.

4.64

Ferrara T 931. R-f column-krater, Eucharides Painter. *ARV* 2 228.28, *Para* 347. A: type b', m/b (ball or fruit).

4.65

Paris G 225. R-f pelike, Syleus Painter. *ARV* 2 250.22. Ganymede serves wine to Zeus.

4.66

Orvieto. R-f pelike, Syleus Painter. *ARV* 2 251.25. A: y seizes Ganymede-like b.

4.67

Antioch. Fr. r-f volute-krater, Syleus Painter. *ARV* 2 251.28. B: Zeus/Ganymede (f-c).

4.68

Brussels A 2482. R-f pelike, Painter of Brussels A 2482, near early work of the Syleus Painter. *ARV* 2 255.1. B: m pursuing y (Beazley).

4.69

Berlin 2184. R-f stamnos, Copenhagen Painter. *ARV* 2 257.6, *Add* 2 204. B: type b', m and y competitors/b (flower). Gymnasium: erastai also hold sprays given to athletic victors.

4.70

Würzburg 527. R-f stamnos, Syriskos Painter. *ARV* 2 261.17. A: 2 courting scenes. M/b pair, boy wrapped up; type b' competitor men/b (2 flowers).

4.71

Cracow 1320. Fr. r-f pelike the Syriskos Painter. *ARV* 2 262.32. A: type b', y/b (fruit).

4.72

Brussels A 11. R-f skyphos, Syriskos Painter. *ARV* 2 266.86, *Add* 2 205.

A: 2 pairs of m and wrapped up b. Gymnasium: wash-basin and

gym-kit. 1 m also wrapped up. Possible female–female erotic parallel on B.

4.73

Rome, Villa Giulia 47799. R-f neck-amphora, Harrow Painter. *ARV* 2 272.6. A: type b' y/b (tainia or wreath).

4.74

St. Petersburg 607. R-f neck-amphora, Harrow Painter. *ARV* 2 272.10, *Para* 511. A: Zeus/Ganymede (f-c).

4.75

Paris C 10753. R-f column-krater, Harrow Painter. *ARV* 2 275.51. A: y and b; m and b (Beazley).

4.76

Naples 3152. R-f column-krater, Harrow Painter. *ARV* 2 275.60, *Add* 2 207. A: Zeus/Ganymede; Ganymede drops f-c. Fig. 4.5.

4.77

Vienna 3737. R-f column-krater, Harrow Painter. *ARV* 2 275.61, *Add* 2 207. A/B: Poseidon (w/ fish as gift)/fleeing y. Fig. 4.9.

4.78

Rome, Villa Giulia 857. R-f column-krater, Walters Painter. *ARV* 2 278.2. A: m and b: m and y (Beazley).

4.79

Rome, Villa Giulia 47214. R-f amphora, Flying Angel Painter. *ARV* 2 280.13, *Add* 2 208. A: Eros pursues b with stick or whip. Fig. 4.22.

4.80

Paris G 227. R-f pelike, Painter of Louvre G 238. *ARV* 2 283.2, *Add* 2 208. B: 2 type b' pairs, m/b (f-c, head-fillet).

4.81

Rome, Villa Giulia 50462. R-f neck-amphora, Matsch Painter. *ARV* 2 284.3, *Add* 2 209. Type b', m/b (h). Boy wrapped up.

4.82

Paris G 224. R-f pelike, Geras Painter. *ARV* 2 285.1, bottom, *Add* 2 209. B: Ganymede serves wine to Zeus. Eagle on Zeus' scepter. Fig. 4.3.

4.83

Athens 1413. R-f pelike, Geras Painter. *ARV* 2 285.3, *Add* 2 209. A: type b', m/b (h). Boy wrapped up.

4.84

Berlin 2171. R-f pelike, Geras Painter. *ARV* 2 285.5. B: as 4.83.

4.85

Athens 1176. R-f hydria, Geras Painter. *ARV* 2 287.31. Type b', m/b (lyre). Boy wrapped up. Hunt: Maltese dog. Schoolroom: writing tablets

and stylus.

4.86

Vienna 3729. R-f stamnos, Argos Painter. *ARV* 2 288.1 and 1642. B: type b', y and m competing/b (h). Schoolroom: writing tablets.

4.87

Orvieto 33. R-f amphora, Tyszkiewicz Painter. *ARV* 2 292.31. A: Zeus/Ganymede. B: courtship, y/b.

4.88

Boulogne 134. R-f pelike, Tyszkiewicz Painter. *ARV* 2 293.47. A: type b', y/b (f-c). Hunt: cheetah and Maltese dog. B: type b', m/b (h).

4.89

Once Munich, Preyss collection. R-f pelike, Tyszkiewicz Painter. *ARV* 2 293.48. A: type b', m/b (f-c).

4.90

Copenhagen 3634. R-f pelike, Tyszkiewicz Painter. *ARV* 2 293.51, *Add* 2 211. A: type b', m/b (lyre). Gymnasium: gym-kit. B: type b', m/b ("money-pouch"). Boys wrapped up. Fig. 2.10.

4.91

London E 175. R-f hydria, Troilos Painter. *ARV* 2 297.17. Type b', y/b (wreath).

4.92

Adria B 622. R-f sherd, perhaps from a lekythos, Tithonos Painter. *ARV* 2 310 (2). Eros touching y playing the lyre.

4.93

Athens, Kerameikos. Fr. r-f cup, Proto-Panaetian Group. *Para* 358, *Add* 2 214. I: type c', m/b. A: heterosexual scene.

4.94

Rome, Vatican, Astarita 705 (formerly Naples). Fr. w-g cup w/ r-f tondo, Onesimos. *ARV* 2 1646.37 bis. I: m and b embracing. Hunt: Maltese dog. Gymnasium: gym-kit.

4.95

Boston 65.873. Fr. r-f cup, Onesimos. *Para* 360.74 quater, *Add* 2 216. I: m grasping b's shoulder (type c'—Lear). There is an inscribed dialogue. M: let me! B: Won't you stop? Fig. 7.2.

4.96

Paris C 10891. Fr. r-f cup "of unusual style, which may be described as in the manner of Onesimos, but with strong Antiphonic influences." *ARV* 2 333. A: 2 y/b type b' pairs (w/o gift, but bs are wrapped up, and 1 y touches b's shoulder). Gymnasium: gym-kit. B: ys and bs.

4.97

Boston 98.879. R-f aryballos, imitation of early Onesimos. *ARV* 2 1646. 3 facing pairs, y/b, 1 type b' (flower), 1 boy wrapped up. Hunt: unusual dog. Gymnasium: gym-kits, javelins.

4.98

New York 96.9.36. R-f cup, Antiphon Painter. *ARV* 2 341.82. A: type b', y/y (h). Eromenos wrapped up.

4.99

Strasbourg 838. Fr. r-f cup manner of the Antiphon Painter. *ARV* 2 347.99. B: type b', ys competing/b (meat).

4.100

Tarquinia 701. R-f cup, Cage Painter. *ARV* 2 348.4, *Add* 2 220. I, A (and B?): type b'. I: m/b (h). A: m and y competitors/b (writing-tablet). Fig. 2.7 (A).

4.101

Basel BS 438. R-f cup, Bonn Painter. *ARV* 2 351.8, *Add* 2 221. A: type a' (u-gesture only), m/y. Gymnasium: gym-kit, 2 javelins; athletic activities (eromenos throws discus).

4.102

Mykonos 966. Fr. r-f pelike, Triptolemos Painter. *ARV* 2 362.21, 280.18, *Add* 2 222. Mixed c' and b' (h), m/b. Hunt: hound. Gymnasium: turning-post. Fig. 1.6 .

4.103

Malibu 80.AE.235. R-f pelike, Triptolemos Painter. *Para* 364.21 bis. B: type b', m/y (h).

4.104

Tarquinia RC 1914. R-f cup, Triptolemos Painter. *ARV* 2 365.60. A: type b', competing ys/y (h). Y may refuse gift (raises hand w/ palm outward). Gymnasium: gym-kit.

4.105

Rome market, Villa Giulia, and Florence 12 B 16. R-f cup, Brygos Painter. *ARV* 2 374.62. I: m touches b's shoulder. Hunt: 2 dogs. Both sides: type b' w/ hunt and gymnasium elements (dog; gym-kits, discus, javelins). A: 3 pairs, 2 m/b, 1 m/y. Central m/b pair: h and "money-pouch." B: 2 type b' groups. M/b ("money-pouch," flower); competing men/b (flower).

4.106

Rome, Vatican, Astarita 3. Fr. r-f cup, Brygos Painter. *ARV* 2 375.63. Both sides: type b', competing men/y (h). A: hunt (Maltese dog).

4.107

Rome, Vatican 16560. R-f cup w/ w-g interior, Brygos Painter.

***ARV* 2 375.68, *Add* 2 226. B: type b' (h) (m/competing eromenoi!). Hunt: hounds. Fig. 1.9 .**

4.108

Oxford 1967.304. R-f cup, Brygos Painter. *ARV* 2 378.137, *Para* 366, *Add* 2 226. I: mixed a' (d-gesture only) and b' (bag of

astragals), w/ hints of type c', ithyphallic m/b. Gymnasium: gym-kit. Fig. 1.13.

4.109

Boston 95.36. R-f kantharos, Brygos Painter. *ARV* 2 381.182, *Para* 366, 368, *Add* 2 227. A: Zeus/Ganymede. B: Zeus pursues woman.

4.110

Naples 2961. R-f rhyton, Brygos Painter. *ARV* 2 383.195, 1649. Eros and bs (Beazley).

4.111

Athens Nat'l Museum, Akropolis 545. Fr. r-f kyathos, Brygos Painter. *ARV* 2 383.196. Zeus/Ganymede (f-c?). Gymnasium: turning-post.

4.112

Paris G 248. R-f kantharos, Schifanoia Group, manner of the Brygos Painter. *ARV* 2 387.2, middle. A: Zeus/Ganymede. B: m seizes shoulder of b holding f-c. Fig. 4.8.

4.113

Munich 2650. R-f cup, Foundry Painter. *ARV* 2 401.2, *Add* 2 230. A: type b', competing men/y (tendril).

4.114

Paris G 278 and Florence Z B 27. R-f cup, Briseis Painter. *ARV* 2 407.16, *Add* 2 232. I: m and b preparing to kiss. Fig. 1.18.

4.115

Brunswick, ME, Bowdoin College 1920.2. R-f cup, Briseis Painter. *ARV* 2 407.22, *Para* 371, *Add* 2 232. A: type b', competing ys/b (leg of meat).

4.116

Cambridge 37.23. R-f Nolan amphora, Briseis Painter. *ARV* 2 409.51, *Add* 2 233. A: Zeus/Ganymede.

4.117

Gela INA casa 1954. Fr. r-f lekythos, Briseis Painter. *ARV* 2 410.61. Zeus/Ganymede.

4.118

London market. R-f cup, Painter of Louvre G 265. *ARV* 2 416.8, *Add* 2 235. I: y takes b by chin and forearm.

4.119

Oxford 1947.263. R-f cup, Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy. *ARV* 2 421.84. Both sides: 2 groups of competing ys and b.

4.120

Tarquinia 698. R-f cup, Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy. *ARV* 2 423.117. I: type b', y/b ("money-pouch"). Gymnasium: turning post; b nude and about to throw javelin.

4.121

Paris G 276. R-f cup w/ w-g zone, Douris. *ARV* 2 428.11, *Add* 2 235. I: y/b reaching toward each other. Hunt: club. A: type b' y/b (h),

mixed w/ pursuit.

4.122

Berlin 3168. R-f cup, Douris. ARV 2 428.13, Para 374, Add 2 236. A: Eros pursuing b w/ sandal. I: Hyakinthos? Fig. 4.23 (A).

4.123

Once Dresden. R-f cup, Douris. ARV 2 430.33, Add 2 236. A: 2 type b' groups. M/y (h); competing men/b. B: similar. I: m w/ "money-pouch" (type b' gift).

4.124

Malibu 82.AE.36. R-f cup, Douris. Para 375.51, Add 2 237. A: 2 type b' m/y pairs: l (h); r (no gift). Gymnasium: gym-kit. B: similar.

4.125

London E 52. R-f cup, Douris. ARV 2 432.59, Add 2 237. A: l, y tying

tainia on head of b athletic victor; r, type b', competing men/y (flowers). B: ys and bs (Beazley).

4.126

Paris S 1350, S 3916, G 282, and C 11397: New York 69.44.2a-d; Würzburg 484. Fr. r-f cup, Douris. ARV 2 432.60, 436.106, 437.117. A: 3 type b' pairs, 1 m/b, 2 m/y; m holding "money-pouch." B: 3 type b' pairs (tainia).

4.127

Paris G 121. Fr. r-f cup, Douris. ARV 2 434.78, Add 2 238. I, zone around tondo: nine type b' m/y pairs (no gift). Gymnasium: gym-kit. I, tondo: seated y w/ h. Both exterior sides: 3 type b' m/y pairs; 1 m on each side w/ h. Fig. 0.5 .

4.128

Paris G 123. Fr. r-f cup, Douris. ARV 2 435.94, Para 375, Add 2 238. I: Zeus/Ganymede. Both sides: 2 fr. type b' m/y couples. One gift on each side (flower or tainia on A, h on B). Fig. 4.6 .

.

4.129

New York 52.11.4. R-f cup, Douris. ARV 2 437.114, 1653, Add 2 239). I: type b', m/y ("money-pouch"). Gymnasium: gym-kit. A: 2 type b' groups: l, m/y m/y (flower); r, competing men/y (tainia). B: similar: l m/b no gift; r competing m and y/y (flower and tainia). M on r makes d-gesture. Fig. 2.12 .

4.130

Rome, Vatican. R-f cup, Douris. ARV 2 437.116, Para 375, Add 2 239. A: 2 type b' groups: l, competing men/y (no gift); r, m/y (flower). B: l, competing men/y (flower), r fr. m/y?.

4.131

Munich 2646, R-f cup, Douris. ARV 2 437.128, Para 375, Add 2 239.

B: 3 m/y pairs; central pair exchanging tainias? Gymnasium: gym-kit.

4.132

Berlin 2280. R-f cup, Douris. *ARV* 2 438.130 and 1707, *Add* 2 239. A: 2 type b' pairs, m/y (no gifts).

4.133

Tarquinia 692. R-f cup by Douris. *ARV* 2 440.179. A: 2 type b' groups, m or y/b and competing m and y/b (tainia).

4.134

Arezzo 1414. Fr. r-f cup, Douris. *ARV* 2 441.181. A: 2 m/y facing pairs (no gifts). Gymnasium: aryballos, aulos-case. B: similar.

4.135

Rouen 2318 (450). R-f cup, Douris. *ARV* 2 441.187, *Add* 2 240. B: 1, competing m and y/b (m puts hand on b's back); r, m w/ b and y (competing eromenoi?) (m puts arm around y, b carries sponge and astragals [type b' gift?]). Fig. 1.10.

4.136

Munich 2631. Fr. r-f cup, Douris. *ARV* 2 443.224, *Add* 2 240. Type c' (with himation spread over 2 figs.). Gymnasium: gym-kit. Fig. 3.3.

4.137

Boston 95.31. R-f cup, Douris. *ARV* 2 443.225, *Para* 375, *Add* 2 240. I: Flying Eros engaged in intercrural intercourse w/ b (type c').

4.138

Würzburg 482. R-f cup, Douris. *ARV* 2 444.239, *Add* 2 238. I: type b', m/b (h). Gymnasium: gym-kit. Fig. 1.1.

4.139

Athens 15375. R-f aryballos, Douris. *ARV* 2 447.274, *Add* 2 241. Two Erotes fly toward b, one w/ whip. Inscription (*Asopodorou he lekythos*: this lekythos belongs to Asopodorus) indicates that vase was made on commission.

4.140

Lost. R-f cup, Douris. *ARV* 2 447.1. 10 type b' m?/y pairs (h).

4.141

Malibu 84.AE.569. R-f cup, Douris. *Add* 2 403. I: Ganymede pours wine for Zeus. A: Zeus/Ganymede (pursuit). B: Eos seizes Kephalos.

4.142

Amsterdam 2180. Fr. r-f cup, manner of Douris. *ARV* 2 449.8. A: 3 courting pairs. L, m?/b; center, m/b (b has hand on m's shoulder); r, m bends forward to lost figure, presumably b.

4.143

Richmond, VA. 56.27.5. R-f cup, manner of Douris. *ARV* 2 450.24, *Add* 2 242. I: m/b pair w/ inscription: *apodos* (give!). Fig. 3.1.

4.144

Berlin 2305. R-f cup, manner of Douris. ARV 2 450.31. I: Eros embraces wingless youth in flight. Fig. 4.17.

4.145

Paris G 129. Fr. r-f cup, Magnoncourt Painter. ARV 2 456.3. I: type b', m?/b (h). M has hand on boy's head.

4.146

Berlin 2291. R-f cup, Makron. ARV 2 459.4 and 1654, *Para* 377, *Add* 2 244. I: type b', m/b (h).

4.147

Paris G 141. R-f cup, Makron. ARV 2 465.84, *Add* 2 245. I: type b', m/b (h, flower).

4.148

Paris G 148. R-f cup, Makron. ARV 2 470.180. I: type b', m/b (lyre, fruit?). A: 3 type b' pairs, 2 m/b, 1 y/b (l, flowers; center, h; r, no gift). B: heterosexual courtship.

4.149

Lausanne, private collection. R-f cup by Makron. ARV 2 471.185, *Add* 2 245. B: 3 courting pairs, 2 m/b, 1 y/b (no gifts). A: heterosexual courtship.

4.150

Munich 2656. R-f cup, Makron. ARV 2 471.186, *Add* 2 246. A: 2 type b' groups. L, competing ys/b (h); r, y/b (flower). B: 2 type b' pairs (no gifts). Gymnasium: gym-kit. I: y holding "money-pouch." Dead hare present (hunt element and/or gift). Fig. o.7 (I).

4.151

Paris C 10923. Fr. r-f cup, Makron. ARV 2 471.188, *Add* 2 246. Both sides: fr. type b' courtship ("money-pouch").

4.152

Vienna 3668. R-f cup, Makron. ARV 2 471.193, *Add* 2 243. A: 3 type b' m/b pairs (l, "money-pouch," center h and flower). Gymnasium: gym-kit. B: l, competing men/y; r, m/y. No gifts; ys play instruments, men make declarative gestures.

4.153

Munich 2655. R-cup, Makron. ARV 2 471.196, 482, *Add* 2 246. A: 3 type b' pairs, 2 y/b, 1 m/b (l, h; center, f-c; r, flower and tendril): B: 3 type b' y/b pairs (l, no gift; center, tendril; r, wreath). Fig. 1.4 (A).

4.154

Rome, Villa Giulia 916. R-f cup, Makron. ARV 2 471.197. A: 3 type b' pairs, 1 y/b, 2 m/b (h, tainia). Gymnasium: gym-kits. B: 3 type b' m/b pairs (center, wreath and flower; r, egg and bag of astragals).

4.155

Paris G 142. R-f cup, Makron. ARV 2 471.198, *Add* 2 246. A: 3 type b'

m/b pairs (l, h and small round object; center, h). Gymnasium: gym-kit.
B: 3 type b' pairs, 2 m/b, 1 m/y (l, "money-pouch;" r, f-c).
Gymnasium: gym-kit.

4.156

Boston 89.272. R-f cup, Makron. *ARV* 2 472.200. A: 3 type b' m/b pairs (l, bag of astragals and tendril; center, flower). B: 3 type b' pairs, 2 m/y, 1 m/b (no gifts).

4.157

Paris C11284–11286, Amsterdam 2822. Fr. r-f cup, Markon. *ARV* 2 472.201–203. Both sides: type b' pairs (h on both sides, "money-pouch").

4.158

Paris C 11299. *ARV* 2 472.206. A: 3 facing pairs, m/b, y/b, m or y/b (Beazley).

4.159

Bochum S 507. Fr. r-f cup, Makron. *ARV* 2 1654 [472.206 bis], *Add* 2 246. I: type b' ithyphallic m/b ("money-pouch"). A: 3 m/y pairs. I type b' (tendril), center type b' ("coins"—DeVries), r pursuit. B: similar (r pair: anal sex—Lear). Fig. 2.11.

4.160

New York 08.258.57. Fr. r-f cup, Makron. *ARV* 2 472.207. A: 3 type b' m/y pairs (l, flower; center, flower and tendril; r, tendril). Gymnasium: gym-kit.

4.161

Paris S 1318. Fr. r-f cup, Makron. *ARV* 2 472.209. A: 3 courtship groups: 2 competing men/b; m/b; m or y/b. No gifts visible. B: similar.

4.162

Paris G 147. R-f cup, Makron. *ARV* 2 472.211. A: 3 type b' groups: r, competing man and y/b (h); m/b (flowers?); m/b. Gymnasium: gym-kit. B: 3 courtship scenes. L, competing men/b; center, y/b, b grasps y's arm; r, m/b. No gifts.

4.163

Paris G 149. R-f cup, Makron. *ARV* 2 473.212. A: 2 type b' pairs: m/b (bunch of grapes, tendril); y/b (f-c). B: 2 type b' pairs: m/b (h); y/b (h, lyre?). Gymnasium: gym-kits. Posture/gestures of right-hand b on each side suggests flight.

4.164

Madrid 11268. R-f cup, Makron. *ARV* 2 473.213, *Add* 2 246. A: 2 type b' pairs, y/y and y/b (tendril; h and tendril). B: 3 competing ys/ y (2 tendrils, h). Heavily restored.

4.165

Amsterdam 2179. Fr. r-f cup, Makron. *ARV* 2 475.262, *Add* 2 246. Both sides: type b' competing erastai/eromenos, ages uncertain (A: flower and fruit; B: fruit). B: schoolroom?: writing cross?

4.166

Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg 2699. R-f cup, Makron. ARV 2 475.264. A: type b', competing ys/y (h, bag of astragals). B: type b', competing men/y (lyre, bag of astragals). Both scenes hint at pursuit. Fig. 1.8 .

4.167

Boston 08.293. R-f cup, Makron. ARV 2 475.265, *Para* 378. A: pursuit, 2 competing ys (1 ithyphallic)/y. B: mixed type b' and pursuit, competing man and y/y (flower).

4.168

New York 96.18.70. R-f cup, Makron. ARV 2 475.269. Both sides: competing erastai/eromenos. A: m and y/b ("money-pouch"); B: 2 ys/b, courtship/pursuit; I: y w/ flower.

4.169

Munich 2658. R-f cup, Makron. ARV 2 476.275. Both sides: mix

of type b' and pursuit. A: competing men/b (h, wreath, flower?); B: competing man and y/b (no gift). B: schoolroom?: writing cross?

4.170

Boston 08.31e. Fr. r-f cup, Makron. ARV 2 478.306, *Add* 2 247. I: older male fondling b's penis.

4.171

Würzburg 480. R-f cup, Makron. ARV 2 478.320, Add 2 247. Type b', y/y (h). Fig. 1.2 .

4.172

Boston 10.193. Fr. r-f cup somewhat akin to the early work of Douris. ARV 2 1567.12. Both sides: 2 type b' pairs. A: y/y (pomegranate); m/b. Gymnasium: gym-kit. B: m?/y (h), y/y (h). Hunt: ferret (gift?) and Maltese dog.

4.173

Boston 13.94. Fr. r-f cup, style related to Douris. ARV 2 1570.30, Add 2 389. I: Eros having diameirion intercourse (type c') w/ y or b in flight, despite the fact that the eromenos is clothed. Fig. 4.18 .

4.174

Athens Agora P 7690. Fr. r-f cup, style reminiscent of Boston Athenodotos cup (4.172). Beazley 1947.30 (c' 16). I: fr. type c', older male/b. Fr. inscription, possibly philotesion, which could mean "sexual intercourse" or "loving-cup" (Dover 1989.122).

4.175

Küsnacht, Switzerland, Hirschmann collection G 63. R-f neck-amphora, the Harrow painter by (Isler-Kerényi). *Griechische Vasen der Sammlung Hirschmann* (Zürich, 1982), 64–65, 102–103, no. 31. A: Zeus/Ganymede?

4.176

Rome, Villa Giulia 50462. R-f neck-amphora. P. Mingazzini 1971. *Catalogo dei Vasi della Collezione Castellani* 2.53–54, pls. 131–132, no. 660. Type b', m/b (h).

4.177

Cracow 1451. R-f Nolan amphora. CVA Cracovie (Poland 2), pl. 11, 2 a-b. A/B: Poseidon pursues y.

4.178

Basel market. R-f pelike, the Eucharides Painter (Robertson). *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 3 (Malibu 1986) 82–83, fig. 3. A: type c', m/b. Gymnasium: turning-post, gym-kit.

4.179

New York, White and Levy collection. R-f calyx-krater, the Eucharides Painter (Bothmer). D. von Bothmer, ed. 1990. *Glories of the Past: ancient art from the Shelby White and Leon Levy collections*. New York. Pp. 156–157, no. 117. A: Ganymede serving wine to Zeus.

4.180

Fort Worth, Hunt collection. R-f cup, the Proto-Panaitian Group (Bothmer). *Add 2* 393. I: y embraces b, perhaps prepares to kiss and/or make d-gesture.

4.181

Athens, ephoreia storerooms A 5306. Fr. r-f cup, the Castelgiorgio Painter (Maffre). *RA* 1982.199–205, fig. 2. M carrying off b (Zeus/Ganymede?).

4.182

Athens, ephoreia storerooms, the Briseis Painter (Maffre). *RA* 1982.196–198, fig. 1. A: Zeus/Ganymede?.

4.183

Basel, Cahn collection HC 665. Fr. r-f cup, the circle of Douris. Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979.61, no. 65. Hyakinthos on the swan.

4.184

Athens, Agora P 2574. Fr. r-f cup, the manner of Douris, early (Buitron). Koch-Harnack 1983, no. 76. A: 2 type b' pairs, m?/b (h, marten or Maltese dog; cheetah also present).

4.185

New York 1979.11.8. Fr. r-f cup, Makron (Bothmer). A: Zeus/Ganymede? B: type b', m/b (bag of astragals). I: heterosexual scene.

4.186

New York 1979.11.9. Fr. r-f cup, Makron (Bothmer). A: men tying tainias on athletes (1 y and 1 b). B: 2 type b' groups, competing ys/y (bag of astragals); y/b (flower). Fig. 2.16.

4.187

Basel market. R-f cup, Makron (Bothmer). B: 3 pairs of men and bs. A: 3 heterosexual pairs.

4.188

Malibu. Fr. r-f cup Makron (Bothmer). A, I, B: men, bs and ys ("money-pouch" present).

4.189

Bern, Univ. R-f cup, Makron (Bothmer). *Add 2* 405. I: m and y w/ lyre; A, B: courting, men and ys.

4.190

Volos. Fr. r-f cup from Philia. D. Theochares 1964. *Deltion* 19 B 2, 246 and 290. I: m? caresses b's penis (type a' d-gesture).

4.191

Karlsruhe 70.395. R-f cup Douris (Cahn, Wegner, *contra* Bothmer). *Add 2* 393. B: drunken revel at symposium or during aftermath. At r, m has arm around boy (and b has arm around him as well). M at l tries to seize b. Fig. 3.20.

4.192

Athens 1286. Fr. r-f kantharos (?). A: type b', m?/b (h). Hunt: hound. B: fr. type b' (h).

5. Ca. 480–440 BC

5.1

Berlin 30852. B-f lekythos, Athena Painter. *Para* 260.17. Hyakinthos on swan.

5.2

Roman market. R-f stamnos, Hermonax. *ARV* 2 484.19. Zeus/Ganymede; Hermes pursues another y.

5.3

Basel BS 483 (formerly Switzerland, private collection). R-f pelike, Hermonax. *ARV* 2 485.26, *Add* 2 248. Zeus/Ganymede (f-c). Gymnasium: turning-post. Fig. 4.7.

5.4

London E 374. R-f pelike, Hermonax. *ARV* 2 486.40, *Para* 379. A: type b', m/b (lyre).

5.5

St. Petersburg 727. R-f pelike, Hermonax. *ARV* 2 486.45, *Para* 512. A: type b', y/b (tainia).

5.6

St. Louis, MO, Washington Univ. 3271. R-f Nolan amphora, Hermonax. *ARV* 2 488.77, *Add* 2 248. A: Zeus/Ganymede.

5.7

Gela 26. Fr. r-f lekythos, Oreithyia Painter. *ARV* 2 497.12. Zeus/Ganymede (Eros present).

5.8

Bowdoin 1927.18. Fr. r-f hydria (?), Oreithyia Painter. *ARV* 2 497.1 (1). Zeus/Ganymede.

5.9

New York 41.162.155. R-f neck-amphora, Painter of the Yale Oinochoe. *ARV* 2 502.14. B: type b', y/b (lyre).

5.10

Vienna 1102. R-f krater, Aegisthus Painter. *ARV* 2 504.5, *Add* 2 252. A: type b', m/b (leg of meat).

5.11

Cambridge 37.26. R-f pelike, Aegisthus Painter. *ARV* 2 506.21, *Para* 381. A: m reaches for departing boy, who raises lyre as if to strike him.

5.12

Munich 2449. R-f oinochoe, Aegisthus Painter. *ARV* 2 507.31. A: type b', m/b (leg of meat).

5.13

Munich 8712. Fr. r-f vase, shape?, Aegisthus Painter. *ARV* 2 507.35. Zeus/Ganymede?

5.14

Rome, Villa Giulia 3579. R-f column-krater, Group of Naples 3169. *ARV*

2 514.3. B: 2 facing y/b pairs.

5.15

Beazley: "in Naples, seen at the restorer's." R-f column-krater, Syracuse Painter. *ARV* 2 518.14. A: pursuit (Beazley).

5.16

Lecce 601. R-f column-krater, Orchard Painter. *ARV* 2 523.14. *Para* 383. A: type b', m/y (lyre) (w/ competitor eromenos behind m reaching for gift!).

5.17

Tarquimia RC 3217. R-f column-krater, Orchard Painter. *ARV* 2 523.17. A: y/b; m/b.

5.18

Naples 81483. R-f neck-amphora, Alkimachos Painter. *ARV* 2 529.13. A: Dionysus pursues boy.

5.19

St. Petersburg 611. R-f neck-amphora, Alkimachos Painter. *ARV* 2 530.26, *Add* 2 254. A: Hermes seizes fleeing boy (Ganymede?). B: Hermes and naked youth.

5.20

St. Petersburg 734. R-f pelike, Alkimachos Painter. *ARV* 2 531.33. *Para* 513. A: type b', satyr/b (h).

5.21

Rennes D.863.1.26 (716). R-f column-krater, Florence Painter. *ARV* 2 543.39 bis, *Add* 2 256. A: 2 m/b pairs. Bs wrapped up. B: type b', competing ys/b (eromenos wrapped up) (strigil).

5.22

Boston 10.185. R-f bell-krater, Pan Painter. *ARV* 2 550.1, 1659, *Para* 386, *Add* 2 256. B: Pan, ithyphallic, pursues fleeing youth, probably a goatherd. Fig. 4.10.

5.23

Sydney 42. R-f column-krater, Pan Painter. *ARV* 2 551.19. B: 2 m/b pairs. Gymnasium: gym-kit.

5.24

Boston 10.184. R-f Nolan amphora, Pan Painter. *ARV* 2 553.39, *Add* 2 258. A: Zeus/Ganymede. B: b running w/ leg of meat.

5.25

London, University College. R-f Nolan amphora, Pan Painter. *ARV* 2 554.44. A/B: type b', y/b (h).

5.26

Taranto 54383. R-f lekythos, Pan Painter. *ARV* 2 556.108. *Para* 387. Zeus/Ganymede (f-c).

5.27

New York 23.160.55. R-f oinochoe, Pan Painter. *ARV* 2 558.127. *Para* 387. Ganymede running (f-c).

5.28

Palermo V 790. R-f column-krater, Pig Painter. *ARV* 2 563.12, *Add* 2 260. A: 2 type b' pairs, y/y, m/b (b has egg or fruit).

5.29

New York 41.162.86. R-f column-krater, Pig Painter. *ARV* 2 564.24, *Add* 2 260. A: type b', m/b (lyre and ball). School-room: writing-tablets.

5.30

Zagreb. R-f column-krater, Pig Painter. *ARV* 2 564.26. A: type b', y/b (f-c).

5.31

Madrid 11122. R-f pelike, Pig Painter. *ARV* 2 564.30. B: Zeus/Ganymede? (much-restored).

5.32

Gela. R-f pelike, Pig Painter. *ARV* 2 565.32, *Add* 2 260. B: 2 facing pairs, m/b, y/b.

5.33

Toronto 365. R-f pelike, Pig Painter. *ARV* 2 565.33. Both sides type b'. A: y/y (lyre). B: m/b (tainia).

5.34

Tübingen E 96. Fr. r-f column-krater, Leningrad Painter. *ARV* 2 568.31, *Add* 2 261. A: type b', m/b (f-c).

5.35

Naples Stg. 238. R-f pelike, Leningrad Painter. *ARV* 2 570.57. B: type b', y/b (leg of meat).

5.36

St. Petersburg. Fr. r-f pelike, Leningrad Painter. *ARV* 2 570.59. A: type b', y/b (wreath).

5.37

Bologna 163. R-f pelike, Leningrad Painter. *ARV* 2 570.60. A: type b', m/b (fruit?).

5.38

Liverpool. R-f pelike, manner of Leningrad Painter. *Para* 391.7 bis. A: type b', m/b ("money-pouch"). B: facing m/y pair.

5.39

Ferrara VP T. 31. Fr. r-f column-krater, Agrigento Painter. *ARV* 2 576.40, *Para* 391. B: 2 type b' pairs, y/b, b/ y? (no gift). Note arming scene on side A.

5.40

New Haven, CT, Yale 1933.175. R-f column-krater, Agrigento Painter. *ARV* 2 576.45, *Add* 2 262. A: 2 type b' pairs, m/b (fruit?), y/b (h). Gymnasium: strigil.

5.41

Bologna 177. R-f stamnos, Agrigento Painter. *ARV* 2 577.53. B: type b', m/y (lyre).

5.42

Basel market. R-f pelike, Agrigento Painter. *Para* 392. B: type b', m/b (fruit?).

5.43

Rhodes 12266. R-f hydria, Agrigento Painter. *ARV* 2 579.88. Shoulder: 2 type b' pairs, y/b (strigil?). Gymnasium: turning-post.

5.44

Athens 1416. R-f pelike, by an undetermined earlier mannerist. *ARV* 2 586.52. A: Zeus/Ganymede. B: Zeus and Hera.

5.45

Ferrara 2737 (T. 381). R-f volute-krater, Altamura Painter. *ARV* 2 589.3, *Para* 393, *Add* 2 264. Neck of B: 2 type b' groups, y/b (no gift), competing men/b (leg of meat). Gymnasium: turning-post.

5.46

Vienna 652. R-f Nolan amphora, Providence Painter. *ARV* 2 636.10, *Add* 2 273. Zeus/Ganymede (f-c). Fig. 4.4.

5.47

Formerly London market (destroyed in WWII, fr. in Reading). R-f Nolan amphora, Providence Painter. *ARV* 2 636.15, *Add* 2 273. Eros pursuing youth.

5.48

London E 297. R-f Nolan amphora, Oionokles Painter. *ARV* 2 647.13. A: Eros w/ whip pursues y by altar.

5.49

Charlecote, England, Fairfax-Lucy collection. R-f neck-amphora, Oionokles Painter. *ARV* 2 648.32. Eros pursuing b.

5.50

Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 373. R-f neck-amphora, Oionokles painter. *ARV* 2 648.33. A: Hermes seizes y.

5.51

Aberdeen 686. R-f Nolan amphora, related to the Nikon Painter. *ARV* 2 653.2. Zeus/Ganymede (f-c).

5.52

London 96.7–23.1. R-f Nolan amphora, Charmides Painter. *ARV* 2 654.12, *Add* 2 276. A/B: Eros, holding torches, pursues/fleeing b.

5.53

Salonica, Olynthos inv. 34.51. R-f Nolan amphora, Painter of London E 342. *ARV* 2 668.26. A: type b', y/b (lyre).

5.54

Syracuse 2412. R-f lekythos, Zannoni Painter. *ARV* 2 673.12. Zeus/Ganymede.

5.55

Oxford 1966.511. R-f lekythos, Bowdoin Painter. *ARV* 2 687.22 4, *Para* 406. Eros pursues y. Hunt: hound.

5.56

Athens 1988. W-g lekythos, Aischines Painter. *ARV* 2 715.186, *Add* 2 282. Type b', y/b (sash, "money-pouch"?).

5.57

Roman market. R-f alabastron, Aischines Painter. *ARV* 2 717.230. Type b', m/b (tainia).

5.58

Basel market. R-f cup, Akestorides Painter. *Para* 417. Hyakinthos on swan.

5.59

Arezzo 142. Fr. r-f cup, Painter of Munich 2660 (Akestorides Painter—Guy). *ARV* 2 784.19. Hyakinthos on swan.

5.60

Boston 01.8076. R-f skyphos, Euaichme Painter. *ARV* 2 785.1, *Para* 418. Type b', m/b ("money-pouch"). Gymnasium: gym-kit.

5.61

Oxford G 279. R-f cup, Euaichme Painter. *ARV* 2 785.8, *Para* 418, *Add* 2 289. Type b', m/b (f-c). Fig. 1.5.

5.62

Paris, Petit Palais 330. R-f cup, Painter of London E 99 (Triptolemos Painter—Guy). *ARV* 2 788.2. A: type b', competing men/b (tainias). Gymnasium: gym-kit.

5.63

Louvre C 11433. Fr. r-f cup, follower of Douris. *ARV* 2 800.2. A: type b', competing m?s/b ("money-pouch").

5.64

Adria BC 47. Fr. r-f cup, follower of Douris. *ARV* 2 803.53. I: man reaches for fleeing b, who holds lyre.

5.65

Florence 4219. Fr. r-f cup, Clinic Painter. *ARV* 2 809.5, *Para* 420. A: b fleeing, holding lyre; Eros flying (pursuing a different b?). B: type b', m/b (fruit).

5.66

Boston 08.487. Fr. r-f cup, Clinic Painter. *ARV* 2 809.6, *Add* 2 291. Eros pursues y or b.

5.67

Munich 2669. Fr. r-f cup, Telephos Painter. *ARV* 2 818.26, *Add* 2 292. A: Eros crowns singing y. B: Eros bears leg of meat (type b' gift) from standing m to y? School-room: writing-tablets. Fig. 4.19.

5.68

Nicosia V 414. Fr. r-f cup w/ w-g interior, Boot Painter. *ARV* 2 821.1. B: type b', 3 competing erastai (lyre, h). Heterosexual type b' courtship on A.

5.69

Parma C 59. Fr. r-f cup, Boot Painter. *Para* 421.22 bis, *Add* 2 294. A: type b' m?y (leg of meat).

5.70

Vatican. R-f cup, Painter of Louvre G 456. *ARV* 2 825.17. A: 2 facing m/b pairs.

5.71

Warsaw 142312. R-f cup, Amphitrite Painter. *ARV* 2 830.3, *Add* 2 295. A: type b', competing m and y/b (leg of meat).

5.72

Philadelphia 31.19.3. R-f cup, Amphitrite Painter. *ARV* 2 830.7. A: type b', y/b (h).

5.73

Laon 37.1034. R-f skyphos, Amphitrite Painter. *ARV* 2 832.32. B/A: type b', m/b (leg of meat).

5.74

Paris G 627. R-f cup, Painter of London E 100. *ARV* 2 834.3. A: type b', y/y (lyre).

5.75

Würzburg 487. R-f cup, Painter of Würzburg 487. *ARV* 2 836.1, *Add* 2 295. A: type b', competing Eros and y/b (wreath, "money-pouch"). B: type b', competing Eros and y/y (fruit or astragal). Fig. 4.15.

5.76

Orvieto. R-f cup, Painter of Würzburg 487. *ARV* 2 836.2. Both sides: Erotes flying toward seated y.

5.77

Munich 2665. R-f cup, Painter of Würzburg 487. *ARV* 2 836.3. Both sides: Eros, b, y.

5.78

Göttingen J 31 (H 99) and H 77. Fr. r-f cup, Sabouroff Painter. *ARV* 2 839.39, *Para* 423. A: type b', 4 erastai/b (lyre, tainia). B: similar.

5.79

Lyons. R-f cup, Sabouroff Painter. *ARV* 2 839.42. I: type b', y/b (wreath).

5.80

Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg 2715. R-f cup, Sabouroff Painter. *ARV* 2 839.44. A: type b', competing ys/y (lyre). Gymnasium: strigil. B and I similar.

5.81

Naples. R-f pelike, Sabouroff Painter. *ARV* 2 843.138. A/B: type b', y/b (wreath).

5.82

Bonn 73A. R-f cup, Group of Bonn 73A. *ARV* 2 853.2, middle. Both

sides: type b', competing ys/y (tainia).

5.83

Rome, Villa Giulia. R-f cup, Group of Bonn 73A. *Para* 423 and 425.2 bis. A: type b', competing ys/y (strigil).

5.84

Switzerland, private collection. Fr. r-f cup, Cat-and-Dog Painter. *ARV* 2 866.1, 1673, *Para* 426, *Add* 2 299. B: type b', competing erastai (m and m?)/b (f-c). Gymnasium: gym-kit.

5.85

Basel, Cahn collection HC 9. R-f oinochoe, Painter of Florence 4021. *ARV* 2 874.3, top, *Add* 2 300. Zeus/Ganymede (f-c).

5.86

Laon 37.1056. R-f cup, Ancona Painter. *ARV* 2 874.4, *Add* 2 300. I: type b', m/y (h). Gymnasium: turning-post, strigil, y's nudity.

5.87

Santa Barbara C 16 WL 55. *ARV* 2 876.4, *Para* 427. A: 2 type b' pairs, m/y (aulos-case, lyre).

5.88

Ferrara 9351 (T 212 BVP). R-f cup, Penthesilea Painter. *ARV* 2 880.12, 1673, *Para* 428, *Add* 2 301. Zeus/Ganymede (f-c).

5.89

Formerly Vitet collection. R-f cup, Penthesilea Painter. *ARV* 2 882.34. I: Hermes seizes b.

5.90

London E 72. R-f cup, Penthesilea Painter. *ARV* 2 885.93, *Add* 2 302. Both sides: 2 type b' groups (no gift). A: 2 m/y pairs. Schoolroom: writing tablets and stylus. War implements: shield and sword. B: competing erastai (m and m?)/y; m/y. War implements: shield, sword, helmet.

5.91

Naples 2640. R-f cup, Penthesilea Painter. *ARV* 2 887.144. I: Eros pursues b.

5.92

Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 820. R-f cup, Penthesilea Painter. *ARV* 2 888.146, *Add* 2 302. M seizes y.

5.93

Naples 26060. R-f cup, Penthesilea Painter. *ARV* 2 888.152. Both sides: Eros pursues y.

5.94

New York 28.167. W-g bobbin, Penthesilea Painter. *ARV* 2 890.175, 1673, *Add* 2 302. A: Eros lays hands on arm of y. Fig. 4.16.

5.95

Athens, Kerameikos 1961. Fr. w-g bobbin, Penthesilea Painter. *ARV* 2

890.176, *Add 2* 302. A: Ganymede fleeing (B not preserved).

5.96

Dunedin E 39.107. R-f cup, Splanchnopt Painter. *ARV 2* 893.24. A: type b', competing ys/y ("money-pouch", leg of meat). War implements: shield.

5.97

Würzburg 488. R-f cup, Splanchnopt Painter. *ARV 2* 893.25, *Add 2* 303. A: type b', competing ys/y ("money-pouch", writing tablets). B: type b', y/y (lyre). I: y/b pair.

5.98

Conservatori 376. Fr. r-f cup, Splanchnopt Painter. *ARV 2* 893.30, *Para* 429. A: type b', competing ys/b (aulos-case, tainia). School-room: writing-case, stylus. B: type b', competing erastai (y and m?)/ m (papyrus-case, fruit). Schoolroom: writing-case, stylus. Gymnasium: strigil. DeVries: "this is a startling scene which, unless the beard of the central figure is the result of incorrect restoration, appears to show the wooing of an adult male: carelessness or humor on the part of the vase painter?"

5.99

Rome, Vatican. R-f cup, Veii Painter. *ARV 2* 901.1. A: 2 type b' pairs, y/b and y/y ("money-pouch"). Gymnasium: gym-kit.

5.100

Paris C 10947. R-f cup, Veii Painter. *ARV 2* 902.25. I: type b', y/b ("money-pouch").

5.101

Athens 12463. R-f cup, Veii Painter. *ARV 2* 903.46. A: type b', y/b ("money-pouch", writing-case).

5.102

Formerly Munich, Preyss collection. R-f cup, Veii Painter. *ARV 2* 904.71. Both sides: Eros pursuing y.

5.103

Bologna 420. Fr. r-f cup, Veii Painter. *ARV 2* 904.72. A: Eros seizes y.

5.104

Rome, Villa Giulia 27278. Fr. r-f cup, Veii Painter. *ARV 2* 904.73. Both sides: Eros pursuing y.

5.105

Rome, Villa Giulia. R-f cup, Veii Painter. *ARV 2* 905.82. I: type b', y/b ("money-pouch").

5.106

Rome, Villa Giulia. R-f cup, Painter of Bologna 417. *ARV 2* 908.8. Both sides: Eros and woman; Eros and youth.

5.107

Orvieto 1035. R-f cup, Painter of Bologna 417. *ARV 2* 909.42. A: 2 facing y/y pairs.

5.108

Marzabotto. R-f cup, Painter of Bologna 417. *ARV* 2 910.45. I: type b', y/b (fruit?).

5.109

Brussels R 330. R-f cup, ext. by Painter of Bologna 417. *ARV* 2 911.62. B: 2 type b' pairs, y/b, m/b (fruit or egg). Gymnasium: strigil. A: heterosexual parallel.

5.110

Paris C 11575, C 11602, and perhaps C 11583. Fr. r-f cup, Painter of Bologna 417. *ARV* 2 909.39, 914.127 and perhaps 914.128, *Add* 2 304. Type b', y/y (fruit).

5.111

Athens 17921. R-f cup, Aberdeen Painter. *ARV* 2 920.17, *Add* 2 305. Both sides: type b', competing ys/b ("money-pouch"). On A, war and school implements: shield, sword, writing-cross; on B no war implements. I: type b', y/b (gift?).

5.112

Aberdeen 745. R-f cup, Aberdeen Painter. *ARV* 2 920.19. I: type b', y/b ("money-pouch").

5.113

Munich 2700. R-f cup, Aberdeen Painter. *ARV* 2 921.29. B: Eros, male, and b (Beazley) (On A: heterosexual parallel w/ "Eros, woman, and male").

5.114

Ferrara T 310 BVP. R-f cup, Aberdeen Painter. *ARV* 2 921.30. A: Eros, m and y.

5.115

Paris C 10964. R-f cup, Aberdeen Painter. *ARV* 2 921.31. Both sides: Eros and males (Beazley).

5.116

Paris C 11608. Fr. r-f cup, Wedding Painter. *ARV* 2 922.7. Eros and ys.

5.117

Oxford 519. R-f cup, Curtius Painter. *ARV* 2 931.5. Both sides: 2 y/b facing pairs.

5.118

Rome, Villa Giulia 20767. R-f cup, ext. by Curtius Painter. *ARV* 2 934.63. Both sides: 2 y/b pairs. Gymnasium: gym-kit.

5.119

Ferrara, Schianoa 273. R-f skyphos, Painter of London E 777. *ARV* 2 943.75, *Add* 2 307. A: Eros offers lyre to fleeing y. B: Eros pursues fleeing y, who holds writing-case.

5.120

Frankfurt, Liebighaus 556. Fr. r-f cup, style related to Painter of London E 777. *ARV* 2 948.2, top, *Add* 2 307. A: Eros pursuing b.

5.121

Montauban 6. R-f cup, style related to Painter of London E 777. *ARV* 2 948.4, top. A: Eros pursuing y.

5.122

Formerly Athens, Fauvel collection. R-f cup, Angular Painter. *ARV* 2 954.70. I: pair of Satyr and b.

5.123

Rome, Vatican G 72. R-f cup, Comacchio Painter. *ARV* 2 955.1, middle. Both sides: 2 type b' groups (no gift). A: y/b and m between

competing eromenoi. B: y/b, m/b. Parallel scene of woman and girl on I: does parallel extend to erotic implication?

5.124

Amsterdam 8211. R-f cup, painter of London D 12. *ARV* 2 959.4. Both sides: type b', competing m and y/b (no gift, but on A, bag of astragals hanging, and on B, m touches b).

5.125

Geneva 14994. R-f cup, Painter of London D 12. *ARV* 2 959.5. *Para* 434. Both sides: type b', competing m and y/y (wreath).

5.126

Stuttgart KAS 138. R-f cup, Painter of London D 12. *ARV* 2 960.20, *Para* 434. Both sides: type b', competing m and y/b (bag of astragals).

5.127

Florence 15 B 6. Fr. r-f cup, Painter of London D 12. *ARV* 2 960.22. A: type b', competing m and y/y (lyre).

5.128

Formerly Rome, Campana collection. R-f skyphos, Lewis Painter. *ARV* 2 973.11. Eros holds out tainia to y he is pursuing.

5.129

Naples 126057. R-f skyphos, Lewis Painter. *ARV* 2 974.24, *Para* 435, *Add* 2 309. A/B: Zephyros pursuing/Hyakinthos.

5.130

Berkeley 8.4581. R-f skyphos, Lewis Painter. *ARV* 2 974.31, *Add* 2 309. Both sides: type b' (m/b) (strigil). Fig. 1.7.

5.131

Brussels A 72. R-f skyphos, Zephyros Painter. *ARV* 2 976.1, *Add* 2 310. A/B: Eros pursuing/y.

5.132

Vienna 191. R-f skyphos, Zephyros Painter. *ARV* 2 976.2, *Para* 436, *Add* 2 310. B/A: Zephyros pursuing/Hyakinthos. Fig. 4.13.

5.133 Bari 3075. R-f skyphos, Zephyros Painter. *ARV* 2 976.5. A/B: type b', m/y (leg of meat).

5.134

Cambridge 13.1955. R-f skyphos, recalling the Zephyros painter and the

Lewis Painter. *ARV* 2 976, bottom. A/B: Eros pursuing/y. Gymnasium: y's nudity and turning-post.

5.135

Reggio. R-f skyphos, Mt. Holyoke Group. *ARV* 2 977.8 bis. A/B: y pursuing/b.

5.136

Oxford 1871.84. R-f neck-amphora. *CVA* Oxford 1 (Great Britain 3), pl. 15, 5–6. A/B: Zeus pursuing/Ganymede.

5.137

Germany, private collection. R-f Nolan amphora. A/B: Zeus/Ganymede (f-c).

5.138

New York market. R-f Nolan amphora. *NFA Classical Auctions, catalogue, Egyptian, Near Eastern, Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Dec. 11, 1991, no. 86. A: Zeus pursuing Ganymede (f-c).

5.139

Warsaw. R-f pelike. *CVA* Goluchów 1 (Poland 1), pl. 31, 3b. A: type b', y/b (h).

5.140

Paris G 183. R-f stamnos. Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979.78, no. 24. A: Zeus/Ganymede (?) (f-c).

5.141

Private collection. R-f oinochoe, Triptolemos Painter (or near). A/B: young man with short beard, holding his erect penis, runs toward/adult in Eastern costume, bent over and raising his hands in fear. Inscription, running across both sides, "I

am Eurymedon, I stand bent over." Now Hamburg 1981.173. Fig. 3-5.

5.142

Gela 115/B. R-f lekythos, Hermonax? (Giudice). *CVA* Gela 3 (Italy 54), 7, pl. 32, 1–3. Zeus seizes Ganymede (f-c).

5.143

New York 6–1982–130–2, loan from Tracy collection. R-f cup, Painter of Würzburg 487 (Bothmer). I: Eros places quail in front of b (type b'?).

5.144

Fiesole, Costantini collection. R-f cup. Splanchnopt Painter (Paribeni). *CVA* Fiesole, Costantini 1 (Italy 57), 21, pl. 47, 3. B: 2 type b' groups: y/b ("money-pouch"); competing ys/b (lyre).

5.145

Tarquinia. R-f cup. Koch-Harnack 1983.164 and 257, no. 129. Type b', y/b ("money-pouch"). Gymnasium: victory wreaths on y.

5.146

Basel ~~market~~. R-f skyphos, the Akridian Painter (Cahn). *100 Werke Antiker Kleinkunst* (Kunst der Antike, Katalog 1, Dezember, 1989), 16 and 18, no. 32, fig. 1B. B: type b', y/y (bag of astragals).

5.147

Athens, Agora P 29670. Fr. r-f bobbin, an associate of the Penthesilea Painter (Shear). *Hesperia* 42 (1973) 367–368, pl. 67a. A: Hermes seizes boy holding f-c (Ganymede?). B: partially preserved pursuit.

6. 460–410 BC

6.1

Munich 2329. R-f Nolan amphora, Achilles Painter. *ARV* 2 990.41. A: type b', y/b (lyre).

6.2

St. Petersburg 710 (St 1688). R-f Nolan amphora, Achilles Painter. *ARV* 2 990.43, *Para* 516. A: type b', y/b (tainia).

6.3

Indianapolis 47.35. R-f lekythos, manner of the Achilles Painter. *ARV* 2 1003.21. Zeus/Ganymede.

6.4

Adria IG 22242, 22286, 22299, and 22365. R-f cup, Phiale Painter. *ARV* 2 1024.151, *Add* 2 317. I: Eros pursuing b or y.

6.5

Dresden 314. R-f Nolan amphora, Polygnotos. *ARV* 2 1031.46. A: type b', y/b (sprig).

6.6

Malibu 80.AE.246. R-f Nolan amphora, Richmond Painter. *Para* 447. A: Satyr pursuing boy?

6.7

Vatican. R-f hydria, Eupolis Painter. *ARV* 2 1074.16, *Para* 448. Zeus/Ganymede (f-c).

6.8

Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 416. R-f column-krater, Ariana Painter. *ARV* 2 1101.8, *Add* 2 329. A: Zeus seizing Ganymede w/ Eros hovering nearby. B: 3 ys. Fig. 4.11.

6.9

Ferrara T 260 BVP. R-f column-krater, Nausicaa Painter. *ARV* 2 1109.37 bis. A: type b', m/b (strigil).

6.10

Palermo. R-f column krater, near Orestes Painter. *ARV* 2 1113.1. B: 2 type b' pairs, y/b (strigils).

6.11

New York market. R-f column-krater, Duomo Painter. *ARV* 2 1118.21, *Para* 453. B: type b', y/b ("money-pouch").

6.12

Ferrara T 1035. R-f hydria, undetermined later mannerist. *ARV* 2 1123.8 bis. 2 type b' groups: competing ys/b; y/b (no gifts).

6.13

Brussels R 340. R-f pelike, Washing Painter. *ARV* 2 1129.110. *Add* 2 332. A: flying Eros offers tainia to y. Gymnasium: strigil and y's nudity.

6.14

Naples market. R-f pelike, manner of Washing Painter. *ARV* 2 1134.13.

A: flying Eros offers box to naked y.

6.15

London market. R-f pelike, manner of Washing Painter. *ARV* 2 1134.14.

A: Eros offers box to naked b.

6.16

London E 397. R-f pelike, Hasselmann Painter. *ARV* 2 1136.1, *Add* 2 333. A: flying Eros pursuing y.

6.17

Basel, Ludwig collection. R-f hydria, Hasselmann Painter. *ARV* 2 1137.31.

A: Eros pursuing b.

6.18

Naples. R-f hydria, Hasselmann Painter. *ARV* 2 1138.42. Eros pursuing b.

6.19

Ferrara T 642. R-f oinochoe, Hasselmann Painter. *ARV* 2 1138.46. Type b', y/b (fruit or egg).

6.20

Gela V lxvii. R-f pelike, Painter of London E 395. *ARV* 2 1140.4. A: victorious athlete and Eros.

6.21

London E 402. R-f pelike, Painter of London E 395. *ARV* 2 1141.25. A/B: flying Eros bringing small chest to y. Gymnasium: turning-post.

6.22

Paris market. R-f pelike, Painter of London E 395. *ARV* 2 1141.27. A: flying Eros bringing sash to y.

6.23

London F 65. R-f bell-krater, Dinos Painter. *ARV* 2 1154.35, *Add* 2 336. A: nude y mounting on lap of ithyphallic nude y. Both wear crowns of spiky, upright leaves that may mark them as torch-racers. 2 figs. watch the ys: a m—possibly the gymnasiarch in charge of the torch-racing—and a woman. B: ys and b. Fig. 6.1.

6.24

Ferrara T 156 C VP. R-f column-krater, compared to the work of the Painter of Ferrara T 300 A. *ARV* 2 1183, bottom. Both sides: komos (y playing flute, Eros as link-boy).

6.25

Paris CA 1587. R-f kantharos, Shuvalov Painter. *ARV* 2 1210.69, *Add* 2 346. Type b', y/b (h), w/ Eros bearing gift from y to b.

6.26

Vienna 779. R-f pelike, Class of Vienna 779. *Para* 465.1. A/B: Eros bearing headband toward/fleeing b (h nearby).

6.27

Rome, Villa Giulia 27252. R-f cup, Eretria Painter. *ARV* 2 1254.88. Both sides and I: type b', y/b (bag of astragals, lyre, wreath).

6.28

New York 09.221.38. R-f cup, Eretria Painter. *ARV* 2 1255.94. Both sides: 2 type b' groups (m/y on A, y/y on B) (tainia).

6.29

Florence 20 B 6. Fr. r-f cup, manner of the Painter of Heidelberg 209. *ARV* 2 1289.2. I: crouching y reaches out to seize other, fleeing y. A: partially preserved y/b pursuit scene (Beazley).

6.30

Florence 18 B 22. Fr. r-f cup, manner of the Painter of Heidelberg 209. *ARV* 2 1289.3. I: Eros reaching for fleeing y.

6.31

Rome, Villa Giulia 50442. Fr. r-f cup, manner of the Painter of Heidelberg 209. *ARV* 2 1290.14. I: striding Eros carries lyre (type b' gift) toward y.

6.32

Munich, part of SL 513. Fr. r-f stemless cup, manner of the Painter of Heidelberg 209. *ARV* 2 1290.20. I: Eros pursuing b.

6.33

Athens 1238 (CC 1218). R-f stemless cup, manner of the Painter of Heidelberg 209. *ARV* 2 1290.21. I: Eros pursuing b.

6.34

Rome, Villa Giulia 18090. R-f cup, Radi Painter. *ARV* 2 1291.1, middle. Both sides: Eros pursuing b.

6.35

Rome, Villa Giulia 18091. R-f cup, Radi Painter. *ARV* 2 1291.2, middle. Both sides: Eros pursuing b.

6.36

Radi, Bichi Ruspoli Forteguerra collection. R-f cup, Radi Painter. *ARV* 2 1291.3, middle. Both sides: Eros pursuing b.

6.37

Paris 10988. Fr. r-f cup, Montlaurès Painter. *ARV* 2 1295.14. Both sides: 2 pairs of facing males (A: m?/b, m/y; m/b, m?/b?).

6.38

Athens 17952. R-f skyphos, Penelope painter. *ARV* 2 1302.27, *Para* 475. B: type b', y/b (leg of meat).

6.39

St. Petersburg 749. R-f pelike. A. Peredolskaya. *Krasnofigurnye Atticheskie Vazy* (St. Petersburg 1967) 198, no. 236, pl. 157, 4. A: pair of ys w/ Eros hovering and bearing small chest (type b'?).

6.40

Mainz, Römisch-Germanisch-Zentralmuseum 0.12452. R-f pelike, possibly Painter of London E 395 (Büsing-Kolbe). *CVA Mainz* 1 (Germany 42) 83, pl. 39 1-2. A: Eros giving small chest to y. Gymnasium: turning-post and y's nudity.

6.41

Munich 2348. R-f pelike, CVA Munich 2 (Germany 6) pls. 77, 4 and 80, 3 and 5. A: Eros placing tainia around grave stele, on which another is already bound. On stele, the letters KAL are inscribed, and kalos is inscribed above Eros. Probably Eros mourning a dead y (perhaps y on side B?). Fig. 5.4.

6.42

Vienna 568. R-f hydria. CVA Vienna 3 (Austria 3), pl. 145, 3-4. Type b', y/b (wreath).

6.43

Athens. R-f oinochoe. Licht, Hans (Brandt, Paul) 1926. *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands*. Dresden. 3.211 (see fig. 4.84). Type b', Satyr/b (f-c).

6.44

Athens, 3rd ephorate storerooms. R-f pyxis *Deltion* 32 (1977) B'1, 24, pl. 31 b. Eros holding out large cloth and flying in pursuit of y, who holds fruit or egg.

6.45

Heidelberg 5713. R-f cup, manner of the Hasselmann Painter (H. Seifert). R. Hampe et al. 1971. *Neuerwerbungen 1957-1970 (Katalog der Sammlung antiker Kleinkunst der archäologischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg II)*. Mainz. Pp. 47-48, no. 76. Pls. 54-55. Both sides: flying Erotes surrounding y exercising in gymnasium.

6.46

Bologna P 391. R-f cup, Disney Painter (A. Lezzi-Hafter). A.

Lezzi-Hafter 1988. *Der Eretria-Maler (Kerameus 6)*. Mainz. 328, no. 132, pl. 90 b-d. Both sides: type b', competing ys/y ("money-pouch").

7. Ca. 420–400 BC

7.1

Berlin 3403. R-f pyxis, Painter of Athens 1243. *ARV* 2 1319.1, bottom. Lid: Eros pursuing boy, who holds hoop and stick in the manner of Ganymede, while Apollo and Hermes look on. Women fleeing in opposite direction (and scenes of Eros with women on sides).

7.2

New York 11.213.2. R-f lekythos, manner of the Meidias Painter. *ARV* 2 1324.47, *Add* 2 364. Chrysippus w/ Eros and Aphrodite.

7.3

Ferrara T 277 A V P. R-f oinochoe, Worst Painter. *ARV* 2 1353.15. Eros and y.

7.4

Broomall. R-f aryballos. J. Beazley, *BSA* 29 (1927–1928) 209, fig. 8. A: Eros and b playing ball.

7.5

Malibu 82.AE.44. R-f kantharoid skyphos, Aison (Bothmer). *Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection: J. P. Getty Museum* (Malibu 1983) 78, no. 141. A: athlete and Eros.

8. Fourth century BC

8.1

Würzburg. R-f calyx-krater, Meleager Painter. *ARV* 2 1410.14, *Add* 2 374.
B: Eros and 3 athletes.

8.2

London 1917.7–25.2 R-f bell-krater, Meleager Painter. *ARV* 2 1410.16,
Add 2 374. Eros and 2 athletes.

8.3

Naples 931. R-f bell-krater, Meleager Painter. *ARV* 2 1410.18. B: Eros
and 2 athletes.

8.4

Bologna 329. R-f krater, Meleager Painter. *ARV* 2 1410.21, *Add* 2 374.
B: 2 y/b pairs. In one, the y lays both hands on b's arm; in the
other, b has hand on y's shoulder. Gymnasium: strigil, nudity. A:
Dionysiac scene w/ Satyrs and Maenads, and Eros.

8.5

**Los Angeles 50.8.39. R-f bell-krater, Meleager Painter. *ARV* 2
1411.34, *Add* 2 374. B: Eros walks toward b, other b on left. A:
symposium. Fig. 6.2 .**

8.6

Brussels A 196. R-f bell-krater, Meleager Painter. *ARV* 2 1411.35. B: Eros
and 2 athletes. A: symposium.

8.7

Paris C 10854. Fr. r-f pelike, Meleager Painter. *ARV* 2 1411.44. A:
hunting scene in 2 registers w/ courting couple in each. Upper register:
b w/ hand on shoulder of m w/ 2 spears. Lower register: standing b
w/ hand on shoulder of y. Partially preserved fig. w/ 2 spears.

8.8

Ferrara T 862. R-f stemless cup, Painter of Ferrara T 862, manner of
the Meleager Painter. *ARV* 2 1416.1, top. I: naked y w/ Eros.

8.9

Bologna 305. R-f calyx-krater, manner of the Meleager Painter. *ARV* 2
1416.1, middle. B: Eros w/ y holding tainia (type b?).

8.10

Boston 21.271. R-f calyx-krater, Painter of London F 90. *ARV* 2 1417.2,
Add 2 375. B: Eros and 2 ys.

8.11

Naples 934. R-f bell-krater, style resembling Retorted Painter. *ARV* 2
1431.1, upper. A: Eros pursuing y, w/ Satyr, Maenad, and Pan. B: 3 ys.

8.12

Berlin 4982.44. Fr. r-f bell-krater, Painter of Louvre G 508. *ARV* 2
1436.8. A: Eros and athletes.

8.13

Naples 2200. R-f bell-krater by the Oinomaos Painter. *ARV* 2 1440.1, middle, *Para* 492, *Add* 2 377. A: in main register, Pelops in chariot w/ Hippodameia. In upper register, many figures, incl. Zeus and Ganymede and Poseidon, who, given the context, must be present as Pelops' ex-erastes.

8.14

Paris G 521. R-f bell-krater, Painter of Louvre G 521. *ARV* 2 1441.1. A: Eros, holding tympanum, flies over 2 klinai at symposium. On l kline, m and y both make kottabos toast and look toward Eros and y on r kline. On r kline, 1 y looking toward Eros, and a m/y pair looking toward each other, w/ m making kottabos toast. Fig. 4.21.

8.15

Harvard 60.370. R-f calyx-krater, Painter of Rodin 1060. *ARV* 2 1444.3. A: Eros bringing long cloth to standing y. Gymnasium: discus.

8.16

Paris, Musée Rodin 215. R-f calyx-krater, Painter of Rodin 966. *ARV* 2 1449.6, *Para* 492. Seated y gazes toward y who walks away but returns gaze. Eros hovers by seated y. Hunt: both ys carry *lagobola* (throw-sticks). Fig. 2.14.

8.17

Athens 1363. R-f calyx-krater, near painter of Athens 14627. *ARV* 2 1452, below no. 13. B: 2 ys, Satyr, Eros.

8.18

Athens 1461. R-f calyx-krater, L.C. Group. *ARV* 2 1460.59. A: Eros pursuing y.

8.19

Ferrara T 863. R-f oinochoe, F.B. Group. *ARV* 2 1489.137. Eros between 2 ys.

8.20

Osnabrück. R-f oinochoe, F.B. Group. *ARV* 2 1708.136 ter. Eros and ys.

8.21

Ferrara T 597. R-f oinochoe, F.B. Group. *ARV* 2 1489.138. Eros between 2 ys.

8.22

Ferrara T 375 B VP. R-f oinochoe, F.B. Group. *ARV* 2 1489.139. Eros between 2 ys.

8.23

Vienna 762. R-f oinochoe, F.B. Group. *ARV* 2 1489.140. Eros running toward y, w/ other y.

8.24

Sofia. R-f oinochoe, F.B. Group. *Para* 498. Eros and y.

8.25

Paris MN 721. R-f hydria, F.B. Group. *ARV* 2 1490.171. Eros and y.

8.26

Venice, CA. R-f oinochoe, may belong to F.B. Group. *ARV* 2 1492.18. Head of Arimasps, between Eros and y.

8.27

Vienna 203. R-f cup, Q painter. *ARV* 2 1518.3. A: Eros and y.

8.28

Vienna 95. R-f cup, Painter of Vienna 155. *AR V* 2 1522.2. I: Eros and y.

8.29

London market. R-f cup, Painter of Vienna 155. *ARV* 2 1522.3, *Add* 2 384. I: Eros and y.

8.30

Ferrara T 270 A VP. R-f cup, Painter of Vienna 155. *ARV* 2 1522.4. I: Eros and y.

8.31

Ferrara T 185 A VP. R-f cup, Group of YZ (iii), unassigned. *ARV* 2 1524.3. A: Eros and ys.

8.32

Ferrara T 447 B VP. R-f cup, Group of YZ (iii), unassigned. *ARV* 2 1524.8, *Add* 2 385. B: Eros and ys.

8.33

Ferrara T 713 A VP. R-f cup, Group of YZ (iii), unassigned. *ARV* 2 1524.10 bis. Both sides: Eros and ys.

8.34

Paris G 528. R-f bell-krater. CVA Louvre 5 (France 8), III I e, pl. 6, 4 and 7. A: 3 ys on horseback, hurling spears at shield hung on a post (a Panathenaic event). 2 Erotes hover over central y, crowning him w/ wreath and tainia.

8.35

Baltimore 48.263. R-f hydria. *LIMC* III 903, no. 605, pl. 644. Y pursuing b as Eros hovers between them. To left, Satyr and Maenad (heterosexual theme).

8.36

Basel BS 402. R-f hydria, early Kerch style (V. Slehoferna). CVA Basel 3 (Switzerland 7), pls. 20.3 and 21. 2 ys look at each other, as Eros hovers over them. Gymnasium: strigil, turning-post.

8.37

Valencia, Museo de Prehistoria. R-f cup-skyphos, Q Painter (Trias de Arribas). G. Rias de Arribas *Ceramicas Griegas de la Peninsula Iberica* (Valencia 1967) 322, pl. 158. Both sides: facing pair of b and Eros. Gymnasium: strigil.

8.38

Leiden K. 94/1, 18. R-f cup. CVA Leiden 4 (Netherlands 7) 18–19, pls. 172.1–3 and 177.2. Both sides: Eros (w/ type b' gift?) and b.

NOTES

PREFACE: WHY THIS BOOK?

1 See Halperin 1990.3–4 and Dowling 1994.74–75. Neither mentions scholarship on vase-painting, but for an example, see the still pertinent remarks on *kalos* -inscriptions at Jahn 1854.cxxii–cxxvii.

2 Traditionally, scholarship on *kalos* -inscriptions has focused on the possibility of linking them to historical personages for the purpose of vase-dating. This has led to a concentration on the inscriptions which name the object of praise. There are, however, far more inscriptions that praise an unnamed boy, usually with the formula "the boy is beautiful" (*ho pais kalos*). There are about a thousand *kalos* -inscriptions with names; inscriptions without names are so numerous that they have never been counted, but they may be as much as twenty times more common (see Lissarrague 1999.362–365).

INTRODUCTION, SECTION 1: TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

1 This includes the attempt which one of the two authors made, now two decades ago, when she decided to seek to decipher this unique and extremely interesting custom, publishing the results in the volume *Bisexuality in the Ancient World* (Cantarella 2002a). At that time, it seemed pointless to insert here and there in the text various images which, in the absence of a sound interpretive method, would only have the role of providing visual relief. But even if this seemed at the time to be the best choice, it left the author with the desire to verify whether, and to what degree the picture delineated by the literary texts would be confirmed by that in the images—the task which this book proposes to accomplish.

2 Pronounced *erastés* and *erómenos* (plurals *erastai* and *eromenoi*), these are the most typical Greek words for the participants in a pederastic relationship, although the term *paidika* (boyish things) was also often used for the *eromenos*.

3 See for example Koch-Harnack 1983.90–97.

4 Henceforth, unless otherwise noted, all dates below 1000 will be BC, and all dates above 1000 AD.

5 See, for example, Henderson 1991.206–207.

6 Aeschines in the oration *Against Timarchus* (1.9–32) claims that there are laws governing pederastic relations in schools. These are, however, of doubtful authenticity (see Cantarella 2002a.27–36).

7 The phrase *ton d'apomeibamenos*, which we have rendered "answer him back" is a citation of a common phrase in Homer. All translations from ancient Greek are by Andrew Lear, unless otherwise noted.

8 The *kyrios* is the boy's legal guardian, generally his father; the *thesmothetai* were a board of six high-ranking officials with many judicial

functions. We cannot discuss in this place the problem of the laws inserted in court-room orations. As is well known, however, these were inserted by Alexandrian copyists, who put them in at the bottom of the texts of the orations. Moreover, as has been noted elsewhere, at Athens the law was a merely means of proof which the parties had to bring to the attention of the jury. In consequence, trusting in the jury's ignorance, the logographers sometimes cited laws imprecisely or even falsely, as suited their clients' needs. On the debate on this subject see Wolff 1971 (and a brief survey of the topic at Cantarella 2004.61–65).

9 See Foucault 1985.191–192, where he says that pederasty was "the object of a special—and especially intense—moral preoccupation" and consequently "subjected to an interplay of positive and negative appraisals so complex as to make the ethics that governed it difficult to decipher."

10 See Cantarella 1991.68–72 and 2002b.142–145.

11 See Sergent 1986. There is controversy about this theory: Dover (1988) argues that the myth of Ganymede did not originally contain its pederastic elements, which was added into the myth after the time of Homer and the Homeric Hymns; similarly the pederastic element was added to the myth of Poseidon and Pelops by Pindar in Olympian Ode 1. As the section below on epic will make clear, I do not agree with Dover on this point.

12 See also Plutarch *Agessilaus* 2.1 and Xenophon *Constitution of the Lacedaimonians* 2.12–14.

13 For example, see Dover 1988.126 and 1989.123. Note that the translation used here differs from the one used by Dover and other authors; the traditional translation relies on the assumption that there were other words before and after the graffito—an assumption for which there is no physical evidence, and which we consider it better to avoid.

14 Cantarella 2002a.xii–xiii, and, at greater length Cantarella 1999.

15 For a contrary view, see Skinner (2005.91), who argues that the scenes collected and published by DeVries "do not prove that conventions were not in force: rules may be broken deliberately. While the evidence is slight, it could imply that the existence of the established patterns described by Beazley and Dover occasionally induced painters to push the envelop by deviating from them, possibly for favored customers or as special commissions."

16 See Clarke 1978 for a discussion of this and other possible pederastic relations in the Homeric epics; also Ogden 1996.107–169 for a novel and interesting view that supports Clarke; for opposing views, see Patzer 1982.93–98 and Dover 1988.130–131.

17 See also the discussion of vase 2.22.

18 For the link between pederasty and politics in Theognis, see Donlan 1985 and Edmunds 1988. On lines 1311–1318, see Edmunds 1988.85.

19 Plato *Protagoras* 309A, *Gorgias* 481D–E, and *Alcibiades* 1.103a–104c; also, more explicitly, Aeschines of Sphettus fr. 11.

20 Unlike most of his fellow citizens, Socrates believed that there were women gifted with wisdom and knowledge; for example, he says that Aspasia taught him how to give the funeral oration which he gives at *Menexenus* 246d–249c. In Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* (3.14–15), furthermore, Socrates declares that what makes women inferior to men is not simply their nature, but their lack of education; husbands, therefore, had the duty of teaching their wives to be good companions, to enable them to contribute like men to the well-being of the family, and to avoid their being the people with whom their husbands would have the least communication. The fact that this speech appears in the context of Xenophon's exaltation of the family should not prevent one from appreciating its "modernity."

21 Can we read an ironic intent in this affirmation? Certainly, in the *Knights*, Aristophanes views the link between politics and pederasty as a form of prostitution. Yet it does not seem that Plato's Aristophanes intends this link as ironic (though for a contrary view, see Ludwig 2002.39–46).

22 The Greeks called many hot springs "baths of Heracles," such as the springs at Thermopylae, which Athena made burst forth to give relief to the tired hero (see Herodotus 7.176.3).

INTRODUCTION, SECTION 2: THE ICONOGRAPHY OF PEDERASTIC SCENES

23 The concept described in brief here was first proposed by Panofsky (see 1939.3–17 for an introduction); probably the best general introduction to the idea of iconographical interpretation of art is Gombrich 1969.63–90. The application of iconographical analysis to Athenian vase-painting was pioneered by the scholars of the Center Louis Gernet in Paris and the University of Lausanne. Examples of their methods at work are found in Bérard et al. 1989, but no member of the school has provided a simple introduction to these methods. For a clear introduction in English, see Beard 1991; Ferrari 2002.11–86 provides a more complete (if complex and theoretical) introduction, focusing, as does Beard, on images of women.

24 Beazley spoke not of courting-gifts in general but only of fighting-cocks. However, as will be seen below, there are many other gifts which in vase-painting seem to be equivalent (as gifts) to the fighting-cock. Indeed, the hare (or rabbit, see n. 40 of this chapter) is approximately as common in extant courting-gifts scenes as the fighting-cock.

25 For simplicity's sake, we have changed Beazley's types α' , β' , and γ' (the three first letters of the Greek alphabet) to a', b' and c'. For examples of type a', see chapter 1; for example of b' and c', see chapters 2 and 3. For further discussion of "intercrural" intercourse, a form of sex in which the *erastes* rubs his penis between the *eromenos*' closed thighs, see chapter 3.

26 For more on the symposium, an after-dinner drinking-party exclusively for men (except for the presence of female slaves and prostitutes) and its central role in ancient Greek social, political, and artistic life, see chapter 2

(and the literary sources mentioned there, such as Plato and Xenophon's dialogues entitled *Symposium*). The participants in a symposium reclined, two to a couch, in a circular arrangement along the walls of a room designed for this purpose and called the *andron* (men's room). Most of the drinking-vessels illustrated in this book were made (or are of types that were originally made) for the symposium, and the painters who decorated them liked to include in their paintings images of the same kind of vessels used at symposia (on which see Lissarrague 1990).

27 We use "synecdoche" to mean "part for the whole," although it can also mean "the whole for a part." James Thurber gives a wonderful example of synecdoche, in the sense in which we use it, in the essay "Here Lies Miss Groby:" "if a woman were to grab up a bottle of Grade A and say to her husband, 'Get away from me or I'll hit you with the milk,' that would be a Thing Contained for the Container."

28 More generally, see Lissarrague and Schnapp 1981.282: "a colonnade or a step suggest a building, a piece of furniture suggests an interior ..."; also 1981.284: "An art of illusion, but above all an art of allusion: a few riders evoke an entire cavalry, an encounter of two handfuls of hoplites a battle between two armies."

29 Several other terms (such as "*dipinti*") have been proposed for these "inscriptions," but none has been commonly accepted; we follow convention in this matter. We also, as is conventional, use the word "graffiti" for words which were added after firing (generally by a hand other than that of the potter/painter).

30 Note that, in an erotic context, the Greeks could use the word "boy"—perhaps as a kind of diminutive—for an adolescent, just as we can in English, where the expression "a cute boy" generally does not refer to someone that we would otherwise call a child.

31 A fine example of a vase with no such program is Vatican 16545, a kylix by Douris (*ARV* 2 437.116, *Para* 375, *Add* 2 239), a painter often represented in this volume. On the outer sides, there are pederastic courtship scenes; in the tondo, there is a scene of Medea saving Jason from the dragon guarding the golden fleece. There may be an aesthetic relation between these scenes, but there is no relationship of meaning, as far as we can see.

32 In Beazley 1947, vase 0.2 is vase a' 10, vase 0.3 (which, as noted below, belongs to both types a' and b') b' 9 and vase 0.4 a' 14.

33 In this discussion, each of the iconographic terms is in italics when it appears for the first time.

34 The distinction between black-figure and red-figure vases will be familiar to the reader who has spent time in any large museum's Classical collection. On black-figure vases (such as vases 0.2–4), the background of the scenes portrayed has been left unglazed and is consequently red, i.e. the color of Athenian clay oxidized during firing. The figures in the scene

are painted in black glaze, and detail on the figures is either incised or painted in white or red glaze. On red-figure vases (such as vases 0.5–8), which are predominately later in date, the figures are left the color of the clay, while the background around them is glazed black. Black-figure and red-figure vases and their dating will be further discussed in chapter 6.

35 Harrison (1988) argues that *eromenoi*'s hair-styles indicate their ages in relation to initiation ceremonies at which their front locks were cut. Certain vase-paintings seem to confirm this theory: for instance, the long tresses typical of Ganymede (see chapter 4) would be a boy's pre-initiation hair. However, as she admits, youths in Greek art wear many different hairstyles that are hard to correlate with such a view.

36 Note, among other things, that the *eromenos* takes the wrist of the hand that is touching his chin, rather than that of the hand that is touching his genitals, as would be natural if he were trying to protect himself sexually. See vase 3.6 for a contrary example; both are common. On Nicosia C440 (b–f amphora, Lydos, *ABV* 109.28, *Para* 44, *Add* 2 30)—the vase with which Beazley (1947) begins his discussion of pederastic scenes—the *eromenos* shields his genitalia from his *erastes*, but this is exceptional.

37 Why there should be such nonsense inscriptions has never been explained. It is our belief that they reflect the painter's state of semi-literacy: he knew how to make letters but not how to make words of them. Note that Athens in this period was still largely an oral society and that for an artisan, even semi-literacy may have been an achievement of which to be proud.

38 Of the 647 vases listed in the appendix (the longest extant list of pederastic scenes), there are only 42 with intercrural scenes, while there are about 110 scenes with up-and-down elements, and over 270 scenes with courting-gift elements. In black-figure, up-and-down and courting-gift scenes are more or less equal (100 up-and-down vs. 90 courting-gift), while in red-figure, courting-gift are the vast majority (160 vs. 10). Moreover, we believe that the list understates the preponderance of courtship scenes. While our research has uncovered very few intercrural scenes not listed by DeVries and/or earlier authors, we have found hundreds of overlooked courtship scenes and suspect that further research could reveal many more.

39 See Aristophanes *Birds* 705–707; *Knights* 904–909, 1104–1199; *Wealth* 153–157.

40 In the appendix, there are 100 vases with fighting-cocks and 70 with hares/ rabbits. We will follow the convention of calling these latter hares rather than rabbits. However, as Schnapp points out (1997:342–347), the basis for this choice is not secure. The animal in question is depicted as fast, like a hare, but tame-able, like a rabbit. It has long been believed that the rabbit was not introduced into Greece until Roman Imperial times and

that these must therefore be hares. However, Schnapp shows that our Greek sources, rather than clearly indicating such a history, instead fail to distinguish clearly between the two species. Thus it is possible that vase-painters did not make a clear distinction between the two—or of course that they were interested in aspects of these animals other than their precise identity and therefore did not mark it clearly.

41 This argument derives closely from Koch-Harnack 1983 (see below).

42 The tondo is the round scene at the bottom of the drinking cup—which the participant in the symposium saw when he drained his cup.

43 Greeks cleaned themselves by rubbing themselves with olive oil and then scraping it (along with dirt, sweat etc.) off with a blunt sickle-shaped instrument called a strigil, not visible in this gym-kit but visible in others on many other vases, such as 1.13 (see also vase 1.7, where a strigil appears as a gift).

44 One of the common ideas about courting-gift scenes in today's scholarship is that they represent the *erastes* as a hunter and the *eromenos* as his prey. This idea will be discussed in chapter 2, section 2. Vase 0.6 might be regarded as an argument for the "hunter" hypothesis: the *erastes*, petting the hare, could be viewed as treating the hare as a stand-in for his *eromenos*. We would, however, argue that such an interpretation would involve a misunderstanding of the scene's synecdochic function: this hare is not a stand-in for an *eromenos*, but a gift for an *eromenos*, who is part of the scene's notional universe.

CHAPTER 1 COURTSHIP, SECTION 1: COURTING-GIFT SCENES

1 The status of the female sex-workers at the symposium is a complex issue and the subject of a vast bibliography. We follow scholarly convention in referring to the sex-workers at the symposium by the term *hetaira* ("female companion," frequently translated "courtesan"). We are, however, in sympathy with the argument, advanced by such recent scholars as Kurke (1999.178–219, with references to other authors), that the distinction between the *hetaira* and the *porne* (street-walker, whore) was at times largely a rhetorical one: the elite Greek male preferred to refer to the women at his symposia as *hetairai* rather than *pornai* in order to ennoble his *own* activities. As Kurke points out (1999.199–213), the portrayal of sex-workers at symposia in vase-painting (see the contrast between vase 3.10, on the one hand, and 3.17–19 on the other) suggests a considerable range in their actual status and the treatment accorded to them.

2 For the most important statement of the "pedagogy" theory, see Koch-Harnack 1983.35–128. For an extensive statement of the "hunter/prey" theory, see Barringer 2001.70–124. On the question of money, see discussion of vases 2.10–12.

3 See "Hamlet and his Problems" in *Selected Essays* (London, 1951), pp.

144–145.

4 Although our descriptions are more ample, the general logic behind the description of the first six vases follows Koch-Harnack 1983.66–82 (where she discusses five of these vases).

5 Almost all the clothed figures in this book wear only one garment, the *himation*, which was a kind of over-garment. The extent to which this corresponds to the actual dress of Greek men is unclear. In our vases, it serves above all to distinguish the nude from the clothed, and hence we call it a cloak.

6 See Ferrari 1990 and 2002.54–56 and 72–81.

7 Ferrari 2002.132–147 argues that the appropriate age for *eromenoi* in Archaic and Classical Athens was eighteen and that incipient facial hair (called *ioulos* in Greek) is a characteristic of *eromenoi* in art (136, 140–141). In fact, however, the *ioulos* is more typical of young *erastai* in red-figure vase-painting than of *eromenoi* (see also tondo of vase 1.4).

8 See Ferrari (2000.72) who points out that this gesture is an excellent illustration of the non-naturalistic nature of vase-painting.

9 For a more dramatic version of refusal—also involving a lyre—see Cambridge 37.26 (r-f pelike, Aegisthus Painter, ARV 2 506.21, *Para* 381), side A, where a departing boy raises his lyre as if to strike a man who reaches after him (see appendix 5.11).

10 Halperin (2002.149–153) points out that there is no good evidence that the Greeks used the term in this latter sense. Indeed, the one text that uses it in this sense, Plato *Phaedrus* 255C–E, makes it clear that it was not a common usage: Socrates (or Plato) calls it *anteros*, but, as he says, the (normal Greek) boy calls his return of affection to his *erastes philia* (friendship). Textual and visual evidence generally agree on this point as well: while there are many vase-paintings in which *eromenoi* express love for their *erastai*, there are only a few in which they express physical desire. These few exceptions (see vases 2.1, 2.11) and a few scenes in which the *eromenos* seems to take the initiative in love-making, if perhaps not in sex (vase 1.19), seem to us, however, to justify our using the term to describe the return of affection in vase-painting, although we do so with reservations.

11 As will be discussed below, there is much disagreement among scholars on the contents of sacks in vase-painting. It is, however, undisputed that this kind of net-bag contained *astragaloi*. See Sutton 1981.291–292 and Meyer 1988.112–113 and in particular ns. 99 (for the *astragalos* theory) and 100 (for bibliography and further examples of different bags).

12 For two other examples of competitor *eromenoi*, see Lecce 601 (r-f column-krater, Orchard Painter, ARV 2 523.14, *Para* 383, appendix 5.16) and Vatican G 72 (r-f cup, Comacchio Painter, ARV 2 955.1, middle, appendix 5.123).

13 See Lissarrague 1990.87–106 on the reflection of the symposia at which

vases were used in the symposia portrayed on vases.

CHAPTER 1 COURTSHIP, SECTION 2: OTHER COURTSHIP ICONOGRAPHIES

14 By early/middle red-figure, we mean what has traditionally been called Archaic red-figure. Uncertainties about the dating of early red-figure make it unclear whether all of these vases were produced in Archaic Greece, i.e. before 480, and thus obligate us to use this more cumbersome and less precise expression (see chapter 6).

15 I thank Alexandra Kardianou of the Louvre Antiquities Department for this observation.

CHAPTER 2 IDEALS/IDEALIZATION, SECTION 1: IDEALIZATION THROUGH THE PORTRAYAL OF *ERASTA* AND *ERO MENOI*

1 This scene is of course a mixed hetero/homosexual orgy, but see discussion of the vase itself for this point. Note that here too the penis of the youth being fellated by the *hetaira* on the right is far longer than the one of the youth penetrating his coeval on the left.

2 For the other, see Paris C 10363 (b-f eye-cup, Group of Courting Cups, *Para* 82.14, *Add* 2 53), side A. This scene is so poorly painted that it could easily be overlooked; but for socio-historical issues, poorly painted scenes are of course just as good evidence as masterworks.

3 Kilmer 1993a.68 n. 5 suggests two other exceptions. In one, however (Naples 81326, cup in the manner of Epiktetos, *ARV* 2 79, *Add* 2 169), the *eromenos* ' penis seems to be held up by his *erastes* rather than erect. In the other (Villa Giulia 121109, our fig. 3.12), the younger figure's penis is clearly at least semi-erect, but it is unclear whether the pair of figures are intended as *erastes* and *eromenos* (so Kilmer 1993a.104–105).

4 Indeed these shifts have generally caused scholars to fail to recognize late fifth century courtship scenes as such and have led to the now common idea (first mooted by Frel 1963) that pederastic scenes disappeared in the early fifth century. See discussion of vase 4.21 and chapter 6.

5 We thank Thomas Hubbard for this suggestion, made in private conversation.

6 For foreign markets, see below (in particular n. 11) on Etruria, and more generally Johnston 1991. The question of the value of vases in ancient Athens, and the social class of their users, has been the subject of considerable debate over the last twenty years. It has traditionally been assumed that most figured vases were made for the elite (see for instance Lissarrague 1990.87–106); the many vase shapes which were evidently designed for sympotic use, and the tendency of vase-painting to portray the elite's leisure activities might seem to confirm this hypothesis. The hard evidence for prices, though scant, does not, however, support it; as a result, some have argued that our clay vases are merely cheap copies of

metal vases used by the elite and that they arrived in Etruria as ballast (see for instance Vickers 1985.126–128). On the whole, the evidence points toward a compromise between the two positions: figured vases, particularly larger, red-figured ones, were a modest luxury item, available to many Athenians, but not workers (see Hannestad 1988.226, Lynch 1999, Pritchard 1999.7, and Neer 2002.211–212).

7 For a version of this argument involving vase evidence, see Shapiro 1981; for a recent and vigorous defense of it, see Hubbard 1998. For contrary arguments, see Lear 2004.239–312.

8 One vase-painter signs his name "Lydos ho doulos" (Lydos the slave) (see Canciani 1978), but this may be an isolated case (see Cook 1948). Nonetheless, textual sources are unanimous in portraying craftsmen as non-elite. Indeed, Plato (*Republic* 420d–421a) specifically cites the presence of potters at a symposium as an impossibility (see Neer 2002.89–90). There are a few contradictory pieces of evidence. Potters (in particular Euphronios, the painter of vases 3.12 and 5.1) seem to have made some dedications on the Acropolis (see Vickers 1985.125 against the identification of the dedicant with the potter, and Johnston 1987.135 with a highly plausible defense). There is also a group of scenes in which members of a group of very early red-figure painters label elite sympotic figures with their own or each others' names (see discussion of vase 5.3, where Euphronios' name appears in an inscription, and Neer 2002.87–134). Yet there need be no contradiction here. As Neer points out (2002.131), "the portraits were confined to a small group of painters, were never popular, and disappeared very quickly." He regards them in effect as evidence for popular fantasies liberated by the social ferment of the early democracy. This argument is ingenious, and we regard it as highly probable, particularly if one considers that the first red-figure painters may also have been particularly wealthy, by craftsmen's standards—wealthy enough, again, to make dedications on the Acropolis. Yet, as Johnston (1987.135) has pointed out, the potters' dedications were relatively modest ones (see also Scheibler 1979.13–24). Potters, even if they became wealthier than average craftsmen, were never members of the elite. See also Shapiro 1995, who argues that inscriptions of poetry (as on vases 0.6 and 7.3) show that some vase-painters were literate and hence of higher social class than is generally believed.

9 On connoisseurship, the method by which scholars attribute vases to "hands" for whom, if we do not know the painter's name, they invent a name such as "the Affecter," see Sparkes 1991.42–55.

10 See Johnston 1991.216, and Spivey 1991.132–133 for the idea that pederastic scenes in general represented a foreign custom for the Etruscan consumer.

11 For a good introduction to this much-discussed question, see Spivey 1991 and/or Arafat and Morgan 1994.

12 See for instance Mommsen 1975.82 and Johnston 1979.44.

13 These appear in the Tomb of the Bulls and the Tomb of the Chariots. For illustrations and discussion, see Bonfante 1996.159–162, although Bonfante does not mention the fact that the embracing male figures in the Tomb of the Chariots are also engaged in anal intercourse. The only textual reference to Etruscan customs in this regard is a citation at Athenaeus 12.517f–518a of the fourth-century historian Theopompus: this states that the Etruscans had sex with "very beautiful boys" (*paidas ... kalous*) and "youths in full bloom" and that while "they have sex enthusiastically with women as well, they enjoy having sex with boys and youths much more." The evidentiary value of ancient ethnography is, furthermore, generally slight, and we have no reason to credit Theopompus. Even if his description were accurate, however, there would be significant differences between Athenian and Etruscan customs. In Theopompus' version of Etruscan parties, servants "bring in" the boys and youths: if these are not themselves slaves, they are not youths who must be courted at great length. The homosexual couples in the Tomb of the Chariots and the Tomb of the Bulls, furthermore, do not reflect Athenian pederastic iconography: both engage in anal intercourse, and neither contains any sign of courtship.

14 Even here there is, however, one known exception, a scene not by the Affector (although indeed found in Etruria) which presents the same age-reversal as vase 2.2: Conservatori 376 (r–f cup, Splanchnopt Painter, ARV 2 893.30, *Para* 429, appendix 5.98). As DeVries says, "this is a startling scene which, unless the beard of the central figure is the result of incorrect restoration, appears to show the wooing of an adult male: carelessness or humor on the part of the vase painter?" Given the sloppiness of the Splanchnopt Painter's work, we incline to carelessness.

CHAPTER 2 IDEALS/IDEALIZATION, SECTION 2: IDEALIZATION THROUGH ASSOCIATION

15 See in particular Koch-Harnack 1983.90–97.

16 Barringer (2001.94) argues that the connection between the two registers "demonstrates the likening of cockfight to erotic struggle, since a cockfight takes place directly below a scene of pederastic courtship." Yet this seems unlikely: the two scenes are not directly one above the other. Instead, there is a register between the two scenes, and it therefore seems unlikely that they are meant as strictly analogous.

17 Koch-Harnack (1983.83) says that it is through such attributes as "the *lagobolon* that he (the *eromenos*) holds in his right hand" that the "educative function of the hare-gift ... is expressed." If the object in question is indeed a *lagobolon* (so also Schnapp 1997.253 and Barringer 2001.107), its presence merely reinforces the hunting context without portraying the *erastes* as a hunting-teacher. François Lissarrague, however, suggests (in conversation) that it is not a *lagobolon* at all. The relief line

which outlines the object does not go around the rounded end—indicating, in Lissarague's view, that it continues around the *erastes* ' back and is therefore most probably the *eromenos* ' arm.

18 Note, in the couples second and third from the right, the use of hens as bait to start cockfights. This might explain why hens are a popular courting-gift (see vase o.3). The two right-hand couples are each holding a cock and a hen, not two cocks. What this variation means is unclear to the authors.

19 See for instance Plutarch *Cimon* 16.5: "it is said that while the adolescents and the ephebes were exercising together in the middle of the stoa (before a famous earthquake at Sparta) a hare appeared, and the adolescents, although they were oiled-up, ran out excitedly and chased it ..." Here hunting is a distraction from duty rather than part of a boy's school lessons.

20 This vase also poses quite interesting questions about gender roles in Greek society. It is not strictly speaking a vase, but a clay ball, with a pebble inside that makes it rattle, that was worn or dangled on a string. It is inscribed twice with the owner's name, which unexpectedly is that of a woman: "Myrrhines eimi" (I belong to Myrrhine). It is hard to imagine why a woman would want to own a pederastic scene, but one must try to imagine the feelings of a woman who lived in a society where pederasty was normal. It is of course also possible that this object belonged to a *hetaira* —who might perhaps have used pederastic motifs to excite her customers!

21 Note Eros' gift of an astragal on side B of vase 4.15.

22 Koch-Harnack (1983.32–42) raises similar questions about scenes with gifts of meat, in that meat can give a boy neither amusement nor instruction. For an example, see Vienna 1102 (r-f calyx-krater by the Aigisthos Painter, *ARV* 2 504.5, *Add* 2 252); also possibly vase 4.19.

23 See for instance Koch-Harnack 1983.167–172 and Reinsberg 1989.210–211.

24 We refer to ancient Greek and Roman cultures in general as "Classical," but when speaking of ancient Greece in particular, "Classical" refers to the period from 480, when the second Persian invasion of Greece was defeated, to 323, when Alexander the Great died. The period before this we refer to as "Archaic"; when speaking of figured Athenian vases, the term "Archaic" refers to the last century of the Archaic period.

25 See also Schnapp 1997.255: "the lover is to the beloved what the hunter is to his prey;" for an expanded account, see Barringer 2001.70–124. For more extensive counter-arguments, see Lear 2004.51–69.

26 For the pedagogy theory, see Koch-Harnack 1983.90–97; for the hunter theory, see 1983.191–208.

27 We omit from our descriptions the side-figures which appear in every scene on the vase.

28 For other black-figure Ganymede scenes, see Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979.8.

29 So also Boardman 1974.65: "the content of his figured scenes concerns him little."

30 Our readers may be shocked by our frank emphasis on the element of exchange in erotic relations. In our own period, as in Classical Athens (see Aristophanes' *Wealth* 149–159), only a cynic would point this out. Gift-exchange had high social value in Archaic Greece, however, as it has in many pre-monetary societies, and in Archaic Greek terms, the courtship scenes' portrayal of pederastic courtship as an exchange would almost certainly tend to ennoble, rather than denigrate it. See Herman 1987 for an extensive discussion of gift-exchange in ancient Greece.

31 See Schnapp 1989.81–87 and 1997.318–354; see vase 1.6 for an exception.

32 So Scanlon 2002.236: "the evidence of the vases ... contributes much to the theme of athletic eroticism. A number of the homosexual vase-paintings catalogued by K.J. Dover relate the homoerotic to athletics." See his further discussion, 236–249.

33 Hubbard 2003 argues that the distinction between trainers and *erastai* is often blurred in vase-painting; in this case, however (2003.10) he sees, as we do, the blurring of the distinction between admiration of an athlete and courtship.

34 For athletes chasing or even racing hares, see Schnapp 1989.86–87figs. 120–122 (Brussels A 2323, r-f kyathos by the Oinophile Painter, *ARV* 2 333.2, *Add* 2 217; London E 46 and Leipzig, r-f cup of the Proto-Panaetian Group, *ARV* 2 315.1, bottom, *Add* 2 213; Copenhagen Nat. 14268, r-f cup, *ARV* 2 1583.2, 1654, *Para* 506, *Add* 2 389). As Schnapp points out, on Brussels A 2323, we see that an athlete might chase a hare in order to catch it live.

35 For a good collation of sources on this point, see Kock-Harnack 1983.54–58.

36 Achilles' skill with herbs is mentioned at *Iliad* 11.828–832. This is, however, not an illustration of the myth as told in the *Iliad*, where Achilles (as the reader will recall) never has the chance to bind Patroclus' wounds. As has often been remarked, mythic scenes in vase-painting often do *not* correspond to the stories that we know from our literary texts. Why? Myths were the common property of all Greeks and had no fixed form: both poets and vase-painters had probably heard (and seen!) many different versions and felt free to retell or represent them as they deemed appropriate.

37 See Miller 1986 for the appearance of Eros in scenes (in vase-painting and other genres) of the late fifth century and beyond in which Achilles' mother, Thetis and/or her companions, the other daughters of the marine divinity Nereus, bring Achilles his armor. Miller argues convincingly that Erotes are present in these scenes as an allusion to the erotic relation

between Achilles and Patroclus.

38 See also Ibycus 287, where Eros appears as an *eromenos*. Why do we say that Eros calls a man to fight at the side of his *eromenos* (and not his *erastes*)? Again, only an adult, in the world of ideal pederasty, feels desire for his *eromenos*; the *eromenos* responds with many fond emotions, but not desire. Ogden (1996) points out that all soldiers were above eighteen and proposes that relations among soldiers involved a lesser age differential than those among civilians. This is possible, but the evidence nonetheless suggests that their relationships—like that between Patroclus and Achilles in vase 2.22, where Achilles is already a physically mature youth—continued to follow the pederastic model, with older *erastes* and younger *eromenos* (see for instance discussion of the Sacred Band of Thebes in the introduction, section 1).

39 Note the sheathed sword hanging in the "air" above him to the left.

CHAPTER 3 CONSUMMATION

1 In Dover 1989, for instance, discussion of courting-gifts is limited to one paragraph (1989.92–93).

2 As Koch-Harnack (1983.89–97) points out, almost all courting-gifts of animals involve live animals, but there are some exceptions, so these dead animals could be intended as courting-gifts too.

3 The vase was first published by Schauenburg (1975), who offered the interpretation which Dover advanced and we, broadly, accept. It was, however, Ferrari (1984) who pointed out that the first sentence should be attributed to the Greek figure. This has been authoritatively confirmed by Smith (1999), who nonetheless defends the essentials of Schauenburg's interpretation against Ferrari's (1984) and Davidson's (1997.170–182) criticisms.

4 See for instance Berlin 1685 (amphora by Lydos, *ABV* 109.24, *Add* 2 30).

5 See for instance Paris F 43 (b-f hydria by the Ready Painter, *ABV* 130.4, *Add* 2 35, appendix 2.5) and Amsterdam 240 (b-f eye-cup, *Para* 83.10, *Add* 2 53).

6 Note the contrast with the *eromenos*' penis, which is (as the reader will discover on close inspection) tied up with a string. Although we are uncertain why they did so, Greek athletes tied their genitals up. We call this "infibulation," and it can be seen in vase-painting on athletes but also sometimes on other nude males (confirming, to our mind, that the convention of representing males as nude derives from the depiction of athletes). See Scanlon 2002.234–236, in particular ns. 101 and 104, for theories and bibliography on this topic.

7 See also Warsaw 1985.14 (r-f cup by the Thalia Painter, *ARV* 2 113.4, *Para* 332, *Add* 2 173, Dover 1989 fig. R189), where a youth sticks a finger between the buttocks of another youth who is bending over to draw wine from a *krater* (bowl in which wine and water were mixed).

8 See for instance Paris G13 (r-f cup by the Pedieus Painter, *ARV* 2 86, *Add* 2 170) for another scene of group sex, fellatio, and sexual violence.

9 For the other, see Munich 1444 (b-f amphora, *ABV* 325, *Add* 2 88, appendix 2.67). For another scene of Satyrs engaged in anal sex, see Naples 81078 (b-f amphora, Painter of Louvre F 6, *ABV* 126.50, appendix 2.4).

10 See chapter 5.

11 These difficulties are ignored in such articles as Hupperts 1988 and Kilmer 1997, which view scenes on Tyrrhenian amphorae (and scenes by the Affecter) as exceptions that call the conventions of pederastic iconography into question, rather than, as we consider more probable, counter-examples from other, contrasting iconographies.

12 Scheffer (1988.536–537) cites a figure of 88 percent, but Ginge (1988.204) argues that the few non-Etrurian finds—all fragments—are not in fact from the Tyrrhenian group.

13 Ginge (1984) argues that the nineteenth-century view is correct: they were made in Etruria, not in Athens, though perhaps with imported Athenian clay (1984.206–207). Carpenter (1984.53–54) has suggested a compromise view: that the first artists in the group trained in Athens but that the workshop was outside of Athens in northern Attica. For the results of a clay analysis, see Boardman and Schweizer 1973.270–271.

14 See furthermore for an (admittedly lone) Athenian scene of this type, the outer rim of Berlin 3267 (b-f plate, Burgon Group, *ABV* 90.6, top, *Para* 33, *Add* 2 24).

15 See Lissarrague 1990.19–46 for a discussion of the *krater's* central role (both actual and symbolic) in the symposium.

16 See Dover 1989.128–130. Note that in pederastic scenes, the foreskin of even erect penises remains unretracted. For clear examples, see vases 1.8, 1.13, 2.1, 2.11—and even 3.4, and 3.9–11!

17 Note that there is a graffito (i.e. words scratched by a hand other than that of the painter) on this vase of a type discussed in chapter 5: *Anthyle Katapygaina* (Anythyle is a slut) (n. 13, p. 247).

18 We can also see additional figures holding gifts under the handles: to the left, a seated bearded man holding a hen, and to the right a youth who is holding a cheetah that can only partly be seen in our illustration. Gifts represented on the other side of the vase are: a fighting-cock, a flower, and a dead hare.

19 See Blundell 1995.101–104 for sources, such as the myth of Tiresias, who had been both a man and a woman, and reported that women enjoyed sexual intercourse more than men.

20 Similarly, in sex scenes, *hetairai* are sometimes shown as actively participating in sex acts. For examples, see London E816 (r-f kylix near the Eleusis Painter, *ARV* 2 315.2, *Add* 2 213), where a *hetaira* guides her partner's penis into her vagina, and Berlin F2412 (r-f kylix by the Shuvalov

Painter, *ARV* 2 1208.41, 1704, *Para* 463, *Add* 2 346), where the woman mounts her seated lover's penis.

21 See in particular the debates over the relative merits of boys and women as objects of eros at Plutarch *Dialogue about Love* 750B–752D, pseudo-Lucian *Erotes* (*Forms of Love*) 19–51 and Achilles Tatius *Leucippe and Cleitophon* 2.35–38. For recent discussion of the implications of these debates, see Halperin 2002.89–99.

22 See Lear 2008, in particular on Anacreon 360 PMG, where a boy is considered attractive because of his "girlish looks" (see Slings 1990.15 n. 37). Note that Anacreon may be said to have a privileged relation with vase-painting. Among other things, his name appears inscribed on three vases, and a large group of sympotic scenes have been seen as representing the poet and his fellow-symposiasts or figures influenced by him (see Boardman and Kurtz 1986).

23 See Kurke 1999.176–219, and in particular 199–213 on vase-painting.

CHAPTER 4 PEDERASTY AND THE GODS

1 On the relation between the *kouros* and Apollo, see Stewart 1986. On the *kouros* ' ped-erotic implications, see Stewart 1986.61 and 65 and 1997.67.

2 The Byzantine compiler of the *Palatine Anthology* (a vast anthology of Greek epigrams of the Hellenistic period and later) refers to Book 12, the book of pederotica as "Strato's *Mousa Padike*," but the poems of Strato (a poet of the Imperial period) actually only occur at the beginning and end of what is otherwise largely a Hellenistic collection (see Cameron 1993.5–18).

3 On this scene-type see Sichtermann 1959, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, and Arafat 1990.66–76 and (catalogue) 189–191.

4 Note that Zeus is also anthropomorphic in the terracotta group in the Olympia Museum (see *LIMC* 4.1.157, Ganymedes 56).

5 For an unusual vase in which a human treats a boy as Zeus treats Ganymede, see Orvieto, unnumbered (r-f pelike, Syleus Painter, *ARV* 2 251.25, appendix 4.66): here the *erastes* (who grabs a boy with a hoop by the shoulder) is clearly not Zeus, as he is a beardless youth.

6 See *LIMC* 8.34–35 for the vases on which the boy is identified as Tithonus (and references to other vases on which Eos abducts boys).

7 See Osborne 1998.52–55 for a similar view.

8 The Greek word "Eros" means both the god Eros and the feeling of desire. Since we moderns make a strict semantic division between the two, it is customary to distinguish between them in discussion of the Classical world by capitalizing the first letter when and only when referring to the god.

9 See *LIMC* 5.1.425–426 for Himeros and 7.1.501–503 for Pothos.

10 Plutarch, in the *Erotic Dialogue* (765.20), cites a fragment from a poem of the seventh-century lyric poet Alcaeus (327) in which Zephyrus is

Eros' father, so there is a possible relationship between these winged figures in literature as well.

11 See for instance Ferrara 2666 T 539 (r-f column-krater by the Eucherides Painter, *ARV* 2 228.27), where the winged figure pursuing Hyacinth is bearded.

12 Note the fragmentary *ho pais kalos* above the couple—which could refer to either member of it.

13 This scene is on a bobbin, and, as weaving was part of women's role, it must, like vase 2.9, have belonged to a woman.

14 See Shapiro 1981.142 n. 71 for a convincing argument in favor of the identification of these figures as Eros, as well as a complete bibliography on this point.

15 For discussion of side B, see chapter 6.

16 Olshausen (1979) argues that this is not a sandal, but a barber's knife, and that Eros is chasing the boy to cut his hair for a coming-of-age ceremony. This is an inventive interpretation, but the object in question is too similar to the sandal, an object commonly depicted as a means of violent assault in vase-painting, to cause us to see it instead as an object otherwise never depicted in vase-painting.

CHAPTER 5 *KALOS* -INSCRIPTIONS

1 See Aristophanes *Acharnians* 142–144 and *Wasps* 97–99, and *AP* 12.41 (Meleager), 12.129 (Aratos), and 12.130 (anon.), on which Dover 1989.111–112; also pseudo-Lucian *Erotes* 16 and Aristaenetus 1.10.58–64. For archaeological evidence from Athens, see *IG* 1 3 1402, 1403, 1404 bis, 1404 ter, 1405, 1405 bis and 1406; for Nemea, see Miller 1990.37 and 186–189; for Thasos, see Garlan and Masson 1982.3–21.

2 See Lissarrague 1999.362, Steiner 2002.359 and Shapiro 1987, in particular 117 n. 37.

3 Lissarrague 1999.362 (tabulating figures from *ABV* 664–678, *ARV* 2 1559–1616, *Para* 317–318 and *Add* 2 391–399): "there are 91 different names on 141 black-figure pots and 208 different names on 851 red-figure pots." For *ho pais kalos* -inscriptions, Lissarrague (1999.365) cites figures from the great nineteenth-century collector, Prince Lucien Bonaparte, that would indicate that there may be as many as 20,000, though, as he says, "this very approximate calculation needs to be checked against other samples."

4 See for instance vase 3.12. Shapiro 2000.27 says that "there are more than 80 examples of his name attested on vases followed by the word *kalos* ." Kilmer 1993b.181 n. 22 expresses doubts about some of these but agrees that "even with the doubtful cases removed, Leagros remains very high indeed (almost certainly first) on the list of those names as *kalos* ."

5 Scholars from Langlotz (on whom see chapter 6) on have believed that they could trace a chronology of scenes with *Leagros kalos* -inscriptions and that these appear progressively with older male figures, whom they

thus consider to be Leagros at progressively later ages (see most recently Shapiro 2000.127–130). On this basis, they posit that it was possible to praise an adult as *kalos* in vase-painting. We are dubious about this argument. The only literary citation in favor of it (Xenophon *Symposium* 4.17) is part of an argument intended as frivolous by the speaker, and without further confirmation is not good evidence. The thousands, furthermore, of generic inscriptions of *ho pais kalos*—and the absolute lack of inscriptions of *ho aner kalos* (the man is beautiful)—seem to us to show that vase-painters understood the *kalos* -inscription as only applicable to boys and youths.

6 Scholars also question whether the word *kalos* is attached to the name Leagros, as its position is not canonical (see Neer 2002.236 n. 58). We consider it most likely, however, that this is a variation on a *kalos* -inscription, in which the two parts of the inscription bracket the figure to which they refer.

7 See Neer 2002.101 and 236 n. 58 for bibliography *pro* and *contra* .

8 For the ties of blood and marriage that linked a later Leagros, possibly this Leagros' grandson, to the wealthiest and most aristocratic families in Athens, see Thompson 1971.

9 See in particular Munich 2307 (r-f amphora by Euthymides, ARV 2 26.1, Para 323 Add 2 155), on which the painter inscribed a jibe at his colleague " *hos oudepote Euphronios* " (as Euphronios never [sc. has drawn]). See Neer 2002.227 n. 74 on the inscription and its translation.

10 So Shapiro 2000.27.

11 This now common concept was, to our knowledge, first suggested at Winkler 1990.195.

12 See, however, Hubbard (1998.55–59), who argues that it can refer to either partner in anal sex.

13 See discussion at Dover 1989.113–114. The term, or a female version of it, *katapygaina* , could be used of a woman, as in the graffito on vase 3.16, and does not seem likely in this case to refer to anything particularly anal but rather to have served, like "slut," as a term of reproach.

14 See Milne and von Bothmer 1953.217–218 on Alkaïos and 220 on Aristomenes; also Steiner 2002.356–368.

15 So Lissarrague (1999.364), who remarks, "there is practically no painted inscription ... that is derisory or insulting—all belong to the field of praise." Lissarrague (1999.364 n. 23) cites as a possible counter-example a r-f cup, illustrated at Klein 1898.169 fig. 46—even then known only as "formerly in the van Branteghem collection"—on which a wreathed youth warrior appears with the word *kakos* (bad/cowardly) inscribed behind him. We wonder, however, if this was a mis-restoration of a *kalos* -inscription; unfortunately, it is now impossible to investigate.

16 See Theognis 1259–1262 and 1377–1380.

17 We know of only two examples that clearly were: Villa Giulia 50599

(b-f dinos by Exekias, *ABV* 146.20, *Add* 2 18), which is inscribed "Epainetos gave me to Charopos," and Athens 15375 (r-f aryballos by Douris, *ARV* 2 447.274, *Add* 2 241, appendix 4.139), which is inscribed "this *lekythos* belongs to Asopodorus."

18 So Slater 1999.154–157 and Lissarrague 1999.370–371.

19 DeVries suggests that the (utterly generic) youth on side B may be the dead youth (appendix 6.41).

CHAPTER 6 VASE DATING

1 See Francis and Vickers 1981 for the original—and most extreme—version of this argument. See Tölle-Kastenbein 1983 and Neer 2002.186–205 for a compromise position.

2 See Langlotz 1920.53–54 and Robinson and Fluck 1937.133.

3 See Neer 2002.188: "the only safe course is to use *kalos* -names as supplementary evidence, in tandem with stylistic and other arguments. By themselves they prove nothing and disprove nothing." Note also that, as Thompson (1971.333) says, "while it is the economical hypothesis to postulate only one Leagros ... in Attic prosopography with a frequent repetition of names within a family the economical hypothesis is sometimes a false economy."

4 See Frel 1963, Shapiro 1981.135, Shapiro 2000.21, and Hubbard 2000b.7.

5 See also the scenes by the Eretria Painter, discussed at Hubbard 2002.277–280.

6 For an even more exceptional scene of this period, see Naples 2200 (r-f bell-krater by the Oinomaos Painter, *ARV* 2 1440.1, *Para* 492, *Add* 2 377, appendix 8.13). The presence of Zeus and Ganymede to the right in the upper register of this scene undoubtedly underlines the pederastic aspect of the relation between Poseidon (upper-register, left of center) and the hero Pelops (on chariot to right in lower register) (see Pindar *Olympian Ode* 1.36–45).

7 For a heterosexual parallel, see Berlin F2412 (r-f oinochoe by the Shuvalov Painter, *ARV* 2 1208, 1704, *Para* 463, *Add* 2 346).

8 Note also that while in earlier courtship scenes a gift was generally visible, gift-less *erastai* are portrayed and are not distinguished from *erastai* with gifts: see for instance the exterior sides of vase 0.5, where *erastai* with and without gifts appear, and the tondo of vase 1.4, where the *erastes*, unlike the *erastai* on the vase's exterior sides, has no gift.

CHAPTER 7 FRAGMENTS

1 Note that this vase is a pyxis, a kind of container used by women to hold jewels or make-up. Thus, like vases 2.9 and 4.16, it is another example of a vase made for women with pederastic scenes. There is also a line of pederastic poetry inscribed on another side of the vase: "the sun and I alone know a handsome boy." As Immerwahr says (1990.36), "the name of the boy is concealed by the lover for fear of the competition (cf.

Anth. Pal. 7.100)."

2 See Pritchard 1999.10–11 n. 36: "the presence of the same pictures of mythology and daily life on vessels found in Attika and Etruria shows that the painters ... overwhelmingly evoked in images an indigenous mentality."

3 For the Acropolis fragments in general, see Graef and Langlotz 1909–1933.

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- Add² = Thomas Carpenter et al. 1989. *Beazley Addenda* , 2nd edition. Oxford.
- ARV² = John Beazley 1963. *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* , 2nd edition. Oxford.
- CVA = *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* .
- LIMC = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* .
- Para = John Beazley 1971. *Paralipomena* . Oxford.
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